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Monday October 7 1996

Abkhaz 0.50, Albania 1.20, Andorra FF 10, Australia 65.50, Austria SD 13.76, Belgium BF 66, Benin 1.200, Canada C\$ 2.05, Czech Republic Kc50, Denmark D 6.50, Finland F 12, France FF 10, Germany DM 3.50, Greece D 400, Hong Kong HK\$ 25, Iceland IK 195, India Rs 100, Israel NIS 5.90, Italy L 1,000, Japan Y 125, Korea K\$ 150, Kuwait KD 3.00, Latvia L\$ 2, Lithuania Lt 2, Luxembourg LF 56, Malaysia M 2.70, Mexico M\$ 20, Netherlands G 4.00, Norway NK 16, Oman O.R. 1.00, Pakistan P 20, Poland Z 2.20, Portugal E 240, Qatar QR 1.50, Romania US\$ 2.00, Saudi Arabia SR 10, Slovakia SL 200, Spain P 230, Sweden SK 1, Switzerland SF 2.00, Taiwan T\$ 180, Thailand TH 1.50, Turkey TL 100.000, Ukraine US\$ 2.00, USA US\$ 2.75

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Duncan Campbell interviews Freddie Foreman

Media

Sport

Managing Director of British crime



Pulp publisher John Blake storms Frankfurt

Favourite storms home in the Arc de Triomphe

G2 with European weather

G2 pages 8/9

This Section, page 16

The poisoning of politics

Doubts over effectiveness of Downey's investigation

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

CONCERN was mounting last night that the Parliamentary Commission on the Environment, Sir Gordon Downey, will not have the resources to carry out a thorough and effective investigation into the Neil Hamilton-Ian Greer cash for questions affair.

John Major attempted to defuse the issue yesterday by promising a speedy inquiry, saying it could be completed within weeks. He also promised it would be made public. But Sir Gordon, worried about the amount of paperwork, the number of witnesses to be called and his lack of staff, dismissed the Prime Minister's timescale as "unrealistic".



reflection on Sir Gordon Downey if the committee to which he has to answer is open to pressure. It may undermine his effectiveness.

The Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown said: "I have absolute trust and confidence in Sir Gordon as a person. But it doesn't matter how good the person is if the procedures have in the past been tainted and we are to use the same procedures again, the House of Commons would be right to be suspicious that the outcome may be tainted again."

climate that committee would not command confidence.

The affair took a new twist yesterday with publication of a memo written by David Willetts, then a government whip, suggesting connivance with the Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, then Tory chairman of the members' interests committee, to limit the damage when the Neil Hamilton affair surfaced two years ago.

According to the Sunday Times, Mr Willetts held a discussion with Sir Geoffrey and recorded it in a memo: "Said No 10 had got in a muddle. They claimed they had cleared Neil Hamilton but actually this was only on a complaint about remarks of his, not on the new allegations. He is now expecting to receive a formal complaint about Hamilton receiving money etc. He could argue now sub judice, and get committee to set aside or B investigate as quickly as possible, exploiting good Tory majority. We are inclined to go for A, but he wants our advice."

The inquiry that followed was so limited that Labour members walked out. Speaking at his London home David Willetts implicitly conceded the authenticity of the memo. "All I would say is simply that the right way forward is for Sir Gordon Downey to look at all the papers. I am sure that is the right thing to do. I welcome that and really do not wish to add anything more."

Mr Willetts is said to be telling colleagues that a proper understanding of what happened will only be gained by examination of all the documents in the case and not simply one which - he insists - has been taken out of context.



John Major tried to defuse sleaze scandal in David Frost interview PHOTOGRAPH BY GARRY WEAVER

'If it is being suggested that the matter could be disposed of in two or three weeks, I think that is likely to prove unrealistic.'

Sir Gordon Downey

'It doesn't matter how good the person is if the procedures have in the past been tainted and we are to use the same procedures again.'

Paddy Ashdown

'This matter is poisoning British politics, because of the way it is being slanted by people. I want it settled, I want it settled quickly.'

John Major

Two killed by missile as Nordic biker feud grows

Jon Henley in Helsinki

TWO people were killed and 17 injured when a shoulder-fired anti-tank missile was launched into an all-night party at the Copenhagen headquarters of the Hell's Angels early yesterday.

attacks across the normally placid Nordic region to nine, with at least 45 people wounded.

Police, who were patrolling outside the walled and fortified base shortly before the attack, admitted they were fighting a losing battle against the Hell's Angels and Bandidos gangs, whom they suspect are trying for control of drug and prostitution rackets in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland.

Mr Munch refused to confirm reports that one of the dead was the Danish Hell's Angels president, Christian Middelboe, but Mr Middelboe was injured, police said. Three people were seriously hurt by shrapnel and others were badly burned.

Three similar attacks have been launched on Hell's Angels clubhouses in Sweden in the past two weeks, including one in Malmo last Thursday which injured four people. Danish police yesterday raided several Bandido properties, but made only two arrests, neither connected with the missile blast. Police were also checking passengers leaving by ferry and air.

Thousands face Gulf war pesticide tests

David Fairhall Defence Correspondent

THOUSANDS of servicemen and women may face medical checks as the Ministry of Defence launches an inquiry into reports that British troops were exposed to pesticides during the Gulf war because they were not given protective clothing.

to confirm the existence of such a syndrome. "We have set up the most comprehensive medical investigation firstly to see whether Gulf war veterans are more ill - in greater numbers, greater proportions - than the population as a whole, and, if they are, if there is one linking theme," he said yesterday.

claims against the MoD, that liquid insecticide was sprayed on tents while men were eating meals inside.

Inside

Britain

World News

Finance

Sport

Comment and Letters by: **Obituaries 10**

C2

Crossword 15; Weather 16; Radio 16; TV 16



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TORIES' TANGLED WEB

Daunting task of sifting a mountain of papers

Tory-dominated committee will have absolute power after commissioner has reported on evidence



Dale Campbell-Savours: 'Committee should meet in public'



David Willetts: said committee had 'good Tory majority'



The Guardian's front page, last Saturday

'In a memo to fellow whips, Willetts records the conversation [with Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith]. The memo says: 'Said No 10 had got in a muddle. They claimed they had cleared Neil Hamilton but actually this was only on a complaint about remarks of his, not on the new allegations. He is now expecting to receive a formal complaint about Hamilton receiving money etc. He could: A, argue now sub judice and get committee to set it aside or B, investigate it as quickly as possible, exploiting good Tory majority. We are inclined to go for A, but he wants our advice.'

The Sunday Times yesterday

The task facing Sir Gordon Downey

David Hencke on the limits parliamentary procedure can put on what is made public

Sir Gordon Downey, the Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards, must sift through the mountain of evidence on the "cash for questions" scandal. It was clear yesterday that John Major's suggested two-to-three-week deadline for the completion of Sir Gordon's inquiry is an impossible target. The Prime Minister declared on Breakfast with Frost on BBC TV: "I have said to Gordon Downey: get on with it. Settle it as quickly as you can. And I say now publicly to the committee: I want you to publish that report when you've done it."

Major could not compel Parliament to publish it, as MPs on the committee decided that. Sir Gordon said yesterday he was able to start the inquiry as soon as he received the evidence. He admitted the large number of documents meant he had a problem with resources and time. Sir Gordon is due to receive 45 large binders full of evidence from the Guardian. He will also get a mountain of papers from Mohamed Al Fayed; easily double the 150 pages of evidence released from the Government; and evidence from the former minister Neil Hamilton and the lobbyist Ian Greer. "I may well need extra help to sift through all the evidence or for other people to take over the normal work I still have to do for Parliament, such as giving advice on the register."

Committee members and the argument for a tribunal

- Tony Newton, chairman: Leader of the House of Commons. One of the longest serving members of Lady Thatcher's and John Major's governments. Chaired previous Privileges Committee supporting hearings in secret.
Ann Taylor: Shadow Leader of the Commons. Long-serving member of the shadow Cabinet. Previously held directorship with one lobbying company, Westminster Communications.
Dale Campbell-Savours: Labour MP for Worthington. One of the longest serving MPs with an interest in parliamentary procedures. Asked questions which led to Ian Greer admitting he had paid Sir Michael Grylls, chairman of the Tory backbench Trade and Industry Committee.
Christine Davies: Conservative MP for Stamford. Backbencher with strong views on parliamentary ethics. Closely questioned Sir Robin Butler, Cabinet Secretary, as a member of the Treasury and Civil Service Committee, over his handling of "cash for questions".
Iain Duncan-Smith: Conservative MP for Chingford. Up and coming rightwing Eurosceptic MP who has taken on Lord Tebbit's former seat. Known to be tough about declaring interests.
John Evans: Labour MP for St Helens. Stalwart old-style Labour MP.
Desa Hoyle: Labour MP for Warrington North. Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. His agent accepted £500 towards his election fund in 1987.
Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith: MP for Westcliff. Former chairman of the Members' Interests Select Committee, which held inquiry into Neil Hamilton in 1984.
Nigel Jones: Liberal MP for Cheltenham. Active constituency MP who won his seat in 1992. Not high profile on parliamentary matters.
Euse Jiri Knight: Conservative MP for Birmingham, Edgbaston. Tory grandee. Takes strong view on sexual morality, but strongly partisan in her views on other matters.
Sir David Mitchell: Conservative MP for Hampshire North West. Tory grandee. Former transport minister. Neil Hamilton was his Parliamentary Private Secretary, in 1988 before he became a Whip.
Four government legal officers: Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney General; Sir Derek Spencer, the Solicitor General; Lord Mackay, the Lord Advocate; and Paul Cullen QC, the Solicitor General for Scotland, may attend but not vote.

Tribunal

- Is presided over by a judge assisted by two QCs
Sits in public
Has similar powers to a court of law
Can subpoena witnesses and documents
Has power of cross-examination
Evidence is privileged and on oath
Charges of the tribunal can be severely punished

The Commissioner

- Works part-time
Has other business to attend to
Has only two part-time staff
Has no power to subpoena witnesses or documents
Has no power of cross-examination

Committee

- Is chaired by a Cabinet minister
Has built-in Tory majority
Has discretion over whether to publish commissioner's report
Has discretion to hold further inquiry, in public or private
Can refuse to take any action on completion of business

Major was offering two classes of documents - those that would be released to Sir Gordon and those he could inspect at the Cabinet Office. "I would expect the committee to be allowed to see all the evidence and publish all the documents in the Government's possession on this case - not just the ones released to the Guardian's lawyers." His query is likely to be resisted by Tory MPs on the committee, reopening party political rows which discredited the old procedures.

A second dispute is likely over whether the committee should meet in public to take any evidence it may wish to hear. Mr Campbell-Savours said yesterday that he would be pressing for any hearings to be held in public, as in a court of law. "It is after all, quite clear, that both Neil Hamilton and Ian Greer were prepared to give their evidence in public in the court case. John Major also gave a statement that he would be prepared to assist the court and attend to give his evidence in public..."

Why John Major is not keen on a tribunal of inquiry to deal with the cash for questions scandal

David Hencke

THE setting up of a tribunal of inquiry into the "cash for questions" scandal has an honourable precedent - dating back 85 years to 1912. Then a Parliamentary select committee under Lord Asquith's government used its built-in Liberal majority to protect ministers from hostile findings about gambling with shares in the Marconi company. MPs voted by nine to six to whitewash the report. In 1921 when a MP accused a Ministry of Defence official of shredding munitions documents to prevent an inquiry by the Exchequer and Audit Department - the forerunner of the National Audit Office - a bill was passed by Parliament setting up tribunals of inquiry. The reason was that Parliament could not trust the government not to use the same tactics to cover-up the facts.

1971 and the Crown Agents fiasco which reported in 1982. The Crown Agents inquiry followed an injection of £175 million of taxpayers' money to prevent the agency which acts for overseas governments from going bankrupt. The inquiry found that ministers - notably Dame Judith Hart, who was in charge of overseas development at the time of the fiasco in the late 1960s, should have asked more questions. Since then the use of tribunals of inquiry has been phased out. Lady Thatcher, who also disliked royal commissions into social problems, was also strongly against tribunals of inquiry because of the time the hearings took. John Major yesterday was taking a similar line. On Breakfast with Frost on BBC1, Mr Major rejected calls for the matter to go to a tribu-

PM shares Lady Thatcher's dislike of tribunals: 'It would be kicking it into the long grass'

A tribunal of inquiry runs on completely different lines to a Parliamentary select committee. It is much closer to a court of law. It is set up by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament and is usually presided over by a judge, assisted by two QCs. It has similar powers to a court of law, such as summoning witnesses; evidence is privileged and on oath, and documents can be demanded. Contempt of the tribunal can be severely punished - two journalists were once jailed for refusing to provide information to an inquiry. It can hold an inquiry into any matter "of the greatest public importance". Usually inquiries are concerned with misconduct of ministers, civil servants, public corporations, the administration of justice and the conduct of the police. During the 1920s the system was used by the Home Secretary to investigate three police forces, and in the 1930s an investigation into a budget leak found that the colonial secretary had passed on information which was used for financial gain by businessmen. In 1948 a more widespread inquiry was held by Mr Justice Lysenky into corruption in government departments. The biggest inquiries in the 1960s included the Vassall spy case and the Aberfan disaster in south Wales. During the 1970's and 1980's tribunals of inquiry were used to investigate large corporate collapses, the two most famous being the investigation into the Department of Trade's handling of the collapse of the Vehicle and General insurance company in

PM shares Lady Thatcher's dislike of tribunals: 'It would be kicking it into the long grass'

nal, saying those who wanted that just wanted the matter to drag on for years. "That, Mr Major said, would be "kicking it into the long grass". The strongest example in Whitehall is the recent case of the Orkney child abuse cases which cost the Government over \$6 million but ended producing very little new evidence. Other arguments included the £15 million cost of the Cleveland sex abuse inquiry. The Government's concern about this was shown in Lord Justice Scott's inquiry into the Arms Trade affair where it rejected a full-scale tribunal of inquiry because of the amount of cross-examination that would be required meant the hearings would have taken two or three years. However, the Scott inquiry had no subpoena powers to require witnesses to attend, no evidence on oath and no cross-examination by lawyers representing witnesses. If the row over whether the select committee on standards and privileges continues, the Government could try and change tactics and revive a Scott-style inquiry. So far the Prime Minister is sticking to Sir Gordon Downey instead.

GEOFFREY JOHNSON SMITH



A former media man with a dislike of publicity

THE appendage "grandee" has been freely attached by journalists to Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, chairman of the select committee on members' interests, writes Ewen MacAskill. In fact, his early career was not in the City or landed estates but as a

BBC interviewer-reporter. Despite his media background, Sir Geoffrey, aged 72, has become enough of an old school Tory not to welcome publicity, and certainly not the kind associated with suggestions of backroom deals with the Government. More

DAVID WILLETTS

'Two Brains' a high flier in party where it is not done to be too bright

DAVID Willetts is rare among Conservative MPs, an intellectual who does not attempt to hide his cleverness writes Ewen MacAskill. In a parliamentary group in which some members take pride in being labelled "the stupid party", it is not

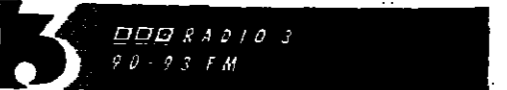
DAVID WILLETTS

the done thing to be seen as too bright. Mr Willetts, even before he became an MP in 1992, was a frequent sight around Westminster, wandering around with brow furrowed, a bit of a loner, animated only when engaged in discussion over ideas rather than gossip. His academic record and large number of think-tank pamphlets have earned him the nickname among colleagues of "Two Brains". But his reputation as a high flier will have to be reassessed because of the turbulence over the memo row. His part in the Hamilton sleaze inquiry may in the end be dismissed by his colleagues as him just doing his job, the normal role of a Conservative whip. They may consider him just un-

lucky to be caught up in the publicity. Until now, his promotion had been fast. He was quickly taken into the whips' office, the usual training ground before moving on to a ministerial post. Aged only 40, he has risen to Paymaster General. The MP for Havant was educated at King Edward's, Birmingham, and Oxford, where he took a first in PPE. He worked at the Treasury before moving in 1984 to Downing Street on secondment. Two years later, he left the Civil Service to become director of the Centre for Policy Studies. There was chatter about the speed with which he switched from loyalty to Mrs Thatcher to John Major but that apart, his rise had been smooth.

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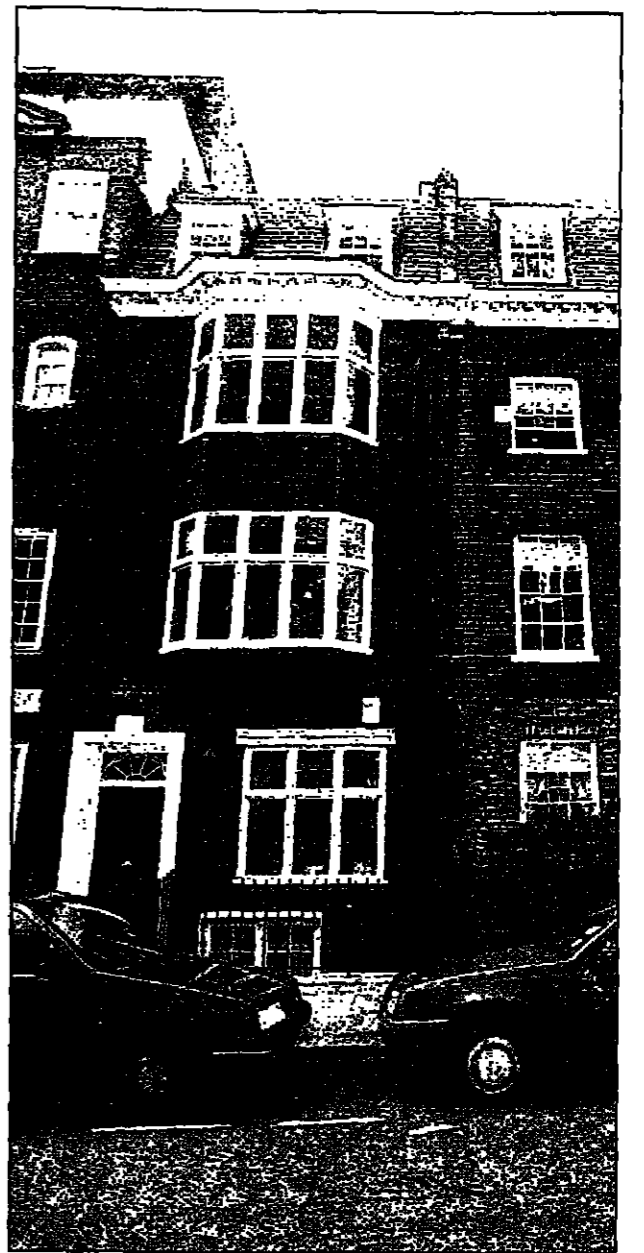
TORIES' TANGLED WEB: Instability haunts those in Hamilton affair

Labour pair walk out claiming: 'We were not given all the information that should have been available to us'

Greer set to stand down as directors quit



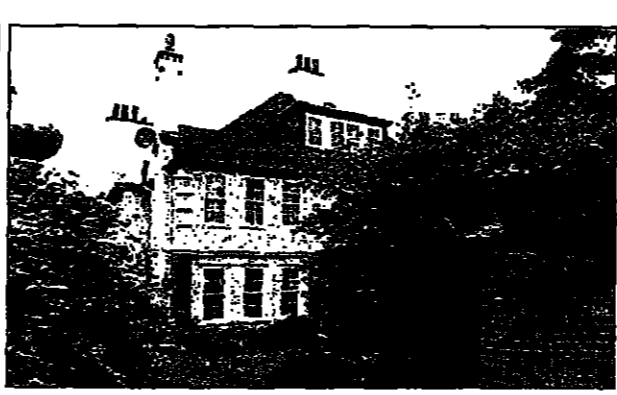
Career in the balance... Lobbyist Ian Greer who is reported to be ready to hand over his firm to his associates, and right, the London headquarters of IGA



David Pallister, David Hencke and Owen Bowcott report on the political lobbyist's future

THE future of Ian Greer as a political lobbyist hung in the balance last night after two of his directors resigned and reports suggested that he was planning to stand down and hand over the company, IGA, to his associates.

Allan Roberts, late Labour MP for Bootle. He assisted Chris Smith, Labour MP for Islington South and Finsbury during the 1992 election.



Ian Greer's home at Kingston in south west London

A statement released by Mr MacDuff said: "Today, two directors of IGA have announced their resignation from the company in all its operations. Both enjoy long membership of the Labour Party and the trade union movement."

Mr MacDuff said he has been employed by IGA since 1988 and was one of the first

Labour Party activists to move into parliamentary consultancy. Mr MacDuff and Mr Hopkins were both unavailable for comment last night.

Mr Greer's decision to consider his future was made at a crisis meeting of executives on Friday, after another director, Baroness Turner of Camden, was forced to quit the Labour front bench in the Lords for publicly declaring her continuing support for him.

Mr Greer owns 9,999 of the 10,000 issued shares with the remaining one held by fellow director Andrew Stone, partner in the company's solicitors, Lewis Silkin.

inevitable by many MPs. Dale Campbell-Savours, the Labour member for Worthington, said: "Ian Greer was the company and its name has been completely discredited. I can't see it retaining any clients. Any MP who is approached by a member of IGA on behalf of clients is going to be very wary of entering into any relationship."

Angela Eagle, the Labour MP for Wallasey, who sat on the select committee on members interests, said: "My impression was that it always going to lead to this after The Guardian started publishing articles about him. I think he is finished."

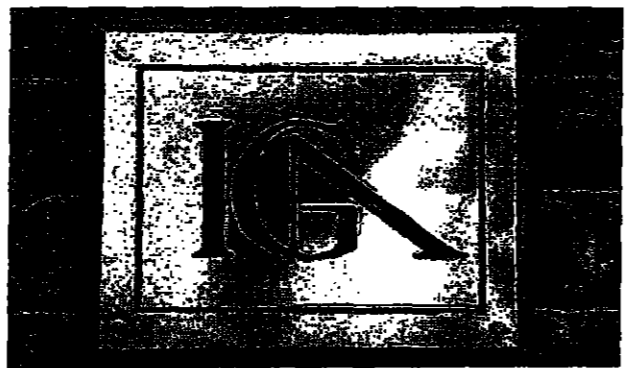
he could do now is to spill the beans and tell us everything that went on." One of IGA's newest clients, the National Union of Teachers, said yesterday it was reviewing its relationship with the company.

In the last year, a number of key staff left to join new companies, including Angie Bray, a former adviser to Chris Patten, the former chairman of the Conservative Party who is now Governor of Hong Kong. She has now joined US lobbyists, APCO.

Lobby firm spans party divide

IGA DIRECTORS

Traditional Tories rub shoulders with former trade union officials



IGA companies and their directors. IGA (Holdings) Ltd. Andrew Smith, aged 34. Group managing director, joined the company at the age of 19 in 1984.

Ian Mablin, Accountant, partner in Williams Wright & Co which provided the firm with accountancy services. Andrew Stone, Solicitor, partner in Lewis Silkin, which provided firm with legal services.

union official, forced to resign from the Labour front bench in Lords after expressing continuing support for Mr Greer. Clive Ferreira, aged 37. Ian Greer's personal assistant, son of a well-connected Goan business family.

ing Street as a junior adviser to Margaret Thatcher. Jeremy Sweeney, aged 33. Seconded to help the campaign of Graham Bright in the 1992 election in Luton South. Sir Graham was knighted in 1994. A former army officer, he is a traditional Tory, enjoying hunting, fishing and shooting.

PM urges Downey to publish report

MAJOR INTERVIEW

'In Parliament's interest, this needs to be determined and quickly'

Extracts from the Prime Minister's interview yesterday on BBC's Breakfast with Frost programme. John Major: I think cash for questions is unacceptable - who was it who established the Nolan Committee against the position of many people in Parliament and many people beyond it? I did. Why did I do it? Because I was determined to have a proper arbitration to ensure there was no doubt whatever that Members of Parliament's conduct was above reproach.

If the Government were concerned about perverting the natural course of justice, why did I help steer a Bill through the House of Commons so that Neil Hamilton could take his case to court, and all the documentation could be publicly exposed. Why did I say I would be prepared to appear in the court case if I had something to hide, or the Government had something to hide? In the interests of natural justice I am determined that this matter shall be fully examined by Gordon Downey, who will then report to the appropriate House of Commons committee, and it would be my expectation that that report would subsequently be published.

JM: Well it's for Gordon Downey. I don't know how large the paperwork is, I don't know how much he's got to do. I don't know how much time he can give to it, but if he could have finished it in two or three weeks I would welcome that. It is very much my wish, my hope and my expectation that this will be cleared up well this side of a general election. DF: And the idea of a debate in the House of Commons - as soon as possible? JM: That should surely follow the report and not precede it. If you're in the middle of this sort of examination it is not reasonable to prejudice it. If the opposition parties don't trust Sir Gordon Downey to carry out the report, let them say so now. If they do trust him - and they seemed very pleased when he was asked to do it - then why do they not let him get on with the job. When it is finished, if they seek a debate on it - even if the Government denied the option of creating one. But let us let him get on with the job, that is what's in Parliament's interests.

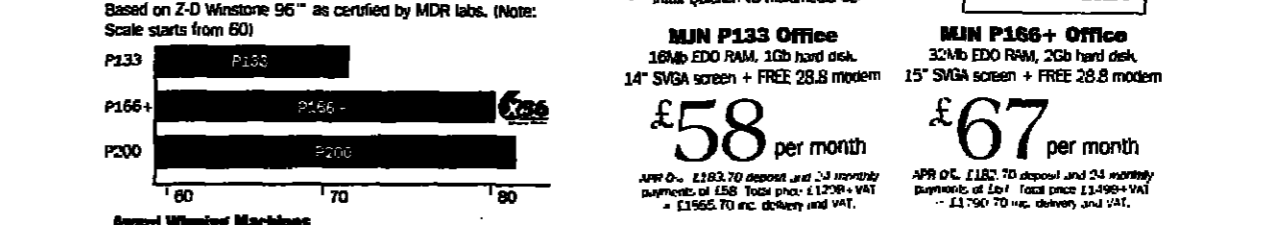
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250,000 claimants to lose out as Portillo-inspired brave new world comes into force in biggest shake-up of the system since 1948

Thousands hit by dole upheaval

Sumas Mine
Labour Editor

The changes

THE introduction of the job seeker's allowance, which today replaces unemployment benefit and income support for the unemployed, marks the biggest change to the dole system since 1948 and will deliver sharp cuts in benefits to hundreds of thousands of claimants.

The key change is the halving of entitlement to unemployment benefit — paid regardless of savings or partner's income — from 12 to six months. From today, everyone who signed on as unemployed at the beginning of April and is still out of work will be switched to a means-tested benefit.

That is to be known as "income-based JSA", instead of income support. An estimated 250,000 claimants, with savings of over £3,000 or a working partner, will now lose all or some of their dole money after six months.

The halving of the period of entitlement — a reversion to the pre-war arrangements — is only one of a panoply of dole cuts and penalties introduced as part of the JSA, a legacy of Michael Portillo's period as Employment Secretary. Together they represent a rapid acceleration to a compulsory workfare system.

The job seeker's allowance:

- replaces unemployment benefit and income support
- halves non-means tested, contributory benefit from 12 to six months
- cuts contributory benefit for 18-24-year-olds by 20 per cent
- slashes contributory benefit for those with non-working partners
- introduces powers to make claimants take low-paid jobs
- reduces the hours the long-term unemployed can study from 21 to 16 a week
- ends the link between unemployment benefit and inflation
- brings 250,000 disabled people under "availability for work" tests
- cuts availability of hardship payments
- reduces benefit for childless couples
- lengthens time before dole payments are made

The Government presents the JSA as an attempt to streamline unemployment benefits and their delivery at JobCentres and a way of securing "better value for the taxpayer by more effective targeting of resources".

Labour and the Liberal Democrats have denounced the JSA as a "savage increase in means-testing", but only the Lib Dems are now committed to abolishing it. Chris

Smith, Labour's social security spokesman, fought unsuccessfully to keep the commitment to restore a 12-month unemployment benefit and Labour says it will now only "review" the JSA.

The bureaucratic upheaval caused by the JSA has cost the Government at least £320 million and led to a series of strikes by Employment Service workers over lack of physical protection. It is eventually expected to save £240 million a year.

Among other changes introduced as part of the JSA:

- Around 45,000 18 to 24-year-olds currently able to claim contributory unemployment benefit will have their dole cut even during their first six months out of work.
- Unlike unemployment benefit, the new replacement "contribution-based" JSA will not be uprated with inflation and claimants with adult dependents will no longer be entitled to the current supplement, worth up to £70 a week.
- A quarter of a million people, currently claiming invalidity benefit, will have to claim JSA because they are not disabled enough to qualify for the new incapacity benefit. There are fears many will fall the JSA's toughened "availability for work" test.

Underlying all the benefit cuts are a range of new powers to compel the unemployed to take low-paid work or join government schemes.



Going without... Dave Morton, who will lose his income support benefit due to the Government's Job Seekers Allowance

PHOTOGRAPH: RAOULE DRON

Former bakery worker considers himself 'lucky' despite a jobless year to have qualified for benefits that will disappear under changes

Nick Varley

FORMER bakery worker Dave Morton has been unemployed for almost a year, but still considers himself lucky. Ever since he signed on after his employers sacked him in a "cost-cutting exercise", he has been eligible for a weekly dole of just over £48.

But if he had met the same fate under the Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) regime that comes in today,

he would no longer be entitled to automatic unemployment benefit.

After six months he would have been switched to means-tested "income-based" JSA. And, because he was given a £12,000 pay-off from his job, he would not have qualified for any money then, unless he had spent at least £4,000 of his redundancy money.

Under the new rules anyone with £8,000 or more savings, or a partner in full-time work, will receive nothing after six months.

Mr Morton, aged 46, said the change will mean people having a choice between spending their redundancy money quickly or not qualifying for benefits.

"You've got to spend on certain things as well, otherwise they'll query you and won't allow the spending to count. If you get £10,000, you'll have to get rid of three-quarters of it just to qualify for full benefits."

Mr Morton, unmarried and from Gateshead, Tyne and Wear, counts himself lucky in another way, too: he is not young enough to see his weekly payments drop by 20 per cent, a change applying to under-25s previously entitled to unemployment benefit.

But he knows he cannot

escape other changes which apply from today: the jobseeker's agreement. It stipulates he attends certain interviews, is available for work, and applies for jobs suggested by advice workers.

He said: "It's going to be up to the person who sees you and decides if you're looking hard enough for a job. But, as anyone who has been unemployed for a long time will tell you, most people are trying their utmost to get jobs and meet the hills."

The pressure may even result in the violence feared by staff at benefits offices under the JSA regime, he added. "I can see it happening with some of them who are signing on and being told they're not doing well enough."

Youngsters face losing homes

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

THOUSANDS of jobless young people will lose their homes as a result of housing benefit curbs which take effect today, welfare groups are warning.

An estimated 135,000 claimants will be affected by the curbs, which will restrict housing benefit payments for single people aged 16-24 to the average cost of shared accommodation in the area.

This means that a single person renting a flat or shared house, will not be able to claim the full cost. If they lose

their job, they will have 13 weeks to move.

The clampdown is part of the drive by Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary, to cut the £9 billion-a-year housing benefit bill.

When he announced the change in the last Budget, Mr Lilley said: "Housing benefit should not provide an incentive for young people to leave the parental home unnecessarily, or to take on high-priced accommodation at the taxpayer's expense."

The maximum benefit payable to single young people will be determined by local rent officers. They will set a figure at the mid-point between the highest and lowest

rents available in the area for a room in a house with shared use of kitchen and bathroom.

The limit will also apply to claimants who move, and at the next review of their claim — to all those who have entered accommodation since January 2.

Centrepoint, the youth homelessness charity, is calling on ministers to think again or at least review the curbs after six months. It warns that it is far from clear that sufficient shared accommodation is available for young people.

The charity says that in Torbay, there are 1,121 young people on housing benefit in

the private rented sector but only 221 units of accommodation costing less than the proposed local rent limit.

In Brent, north London, the proposed limit is £40 a week. But a survey by the London Research Centre at benefits offices under the JSA regime, he added. "I can see it happening with some of them who are signing on and being told they're not doing well enough."

Crisis, another charity working with the homeless, predicts the impact of the curbs will be "devastating".

It says that in areas of high unemployment, most young people leave home not to take advantage of housing benefit, but to escape high levels of family conflict.

Roads sacrificed in quest for tax cuts

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

ACUT in road spending of 20 per cent — more than £200 million — is to be forced on the Department of Transport by the Treasury as the soft option towards securing tax cuts in the Chancellor's last Budget before the general election.

The Transport Secretary, Sir George Young, is strongly resisting the plan because the roads programme has had to bear cuts of almost 40 per cent — around £500 million — in the past two years. In this month's opening round of public expenditure talks, the

Treasury has been told that spending on new roads is down to a trickle.

But with the election looming, the DOT is the sacrificial lamb. It is already committed to funding railway privatisation and is opposing spending cuts on an already cash-starved industry.

The road budget for the current year is £1.8 billion, some of which is being spent on minor improvements to trunk roads. A sign of the Government's tougher stance on roads came yesterday when the Highways Agency conceded that its programme was reduced to three projects, after a further three were frozen last week to save cash.

Two tendering periods for the M11 link road along the A12 in Hackney, east London, have been extended until after the Budget speech next month, when the agency will be able to assess whether it has funds for the work.

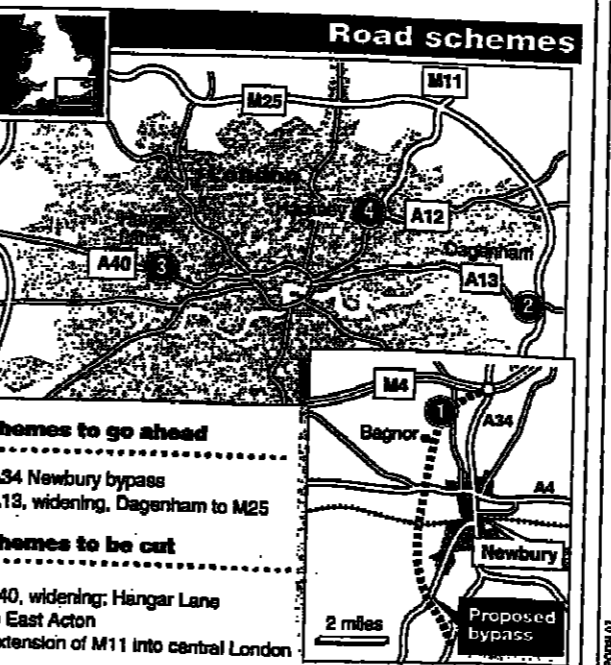
Under DOT pressure the agency has also decided that it cannot go ahead with £109 million improvements on the A40 London-Oxford road between East Acton and Hangar Lane, west London.

Houses on either side of the road have been demolished, but the project is now being

offered to the private sector, which will complete it with government help. This is expected to delay it for a year.

The three projects to go ahead are the Newbury bypass and two schemes to improve the A13 between London and Tilbury.

The agency has had to abandon its much-vaunted £20 million scheme to replace all primary route signs over the next three years with signs easier to understand. The agency said it hoped to revive it "if and when funds become available".



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07/10/96

On eve of Tory conference, PM sticks to compromise formula but former minister castigates 'untenable' position on single currency

Major rebuffs sceptics over Clarke

'He's both a close ally and an old friend, and he's staying put'

Ewan MacAskill and John Palmer in Dublin

JOHN MAJOR yesterday rebuffed calls by Tory Euro-sceptics calling for the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, to be sacked.

He went much further than just endorsing Mr Clarke, describing him as a long-standing friend as well as a successful Chancellor. Tory Euro-sceptics have targeted Mr Clarke in the belief that he is the main obstacle to Mr Major ruling out Britain's entry to a single European currency.

Party conference due to open in Bournemouth. Mr Major is desperately keen that his party should show the same pre-election restraint exercised by Labour last week and not engage in bitter battles over Europe.

Both Tory Euro-sceptics and pro-Europeans last night predicted that they will try to respect that plea, though some of the differences will be difficult to disguise, especially at fringe meetings.

Mr Major, asked about a call by Tory Euro-sceptic Sir George Giddens to sack the Chancellor, said: "Nonsense. Ken Clarke is Chancellor of the Exchequer. He's a very close ally of mine, he's a very old and long-standing friend of mine. He's also an excellent Chancellor of the Exchequer."

Mr Major stressed that if the single currency proceeded it would affect every country in Europe, in or out of the currency.

He said on BBC's Breakfast with Frost programme: "The fanciful belief that we could say 'no', sit on the sidelines and there would be no side effects for the UK simply isn't true."

Labour government. A prime talking point at the Dublin summit was Labour's appointment of former ambassador to Brussels, Sir Michael Butler, as special European envoy.

Former Tory treasurer goes with Goldsmith

Michael White

LORD McAlpine, Conservative Party treasurer during the Thatcher years, has switched allegiance to Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party and will chair its conference next week, he will announce tonight on the eve of the Conservatives' gathering in Bournemouth.



Lord McAlpine... Tories not very Conservative

He also lives in Italy. Persistent rumours of what some Tory insiders call Lady Thatcher's flirtation with Sir James over the campaign for a referendum on European federalism — as distinct from one on a single currency, which Mr Major has conceded — prompted a meeting between her and Mr Mawhinney on September 3 at her office in Belgrave Square.



All quiet on the Bournemouth seafont... but the town is a battleground between Tories and Liberal Democrats

Wind of change sweeping away the blues

THIS fashionable watering place, with its stations, its piers, its promenades and its covered gardens was like a fairy place, suddenly created by the stroke of a wand and allowed to get a little dusty.

pulls her coat a little more tightly around her and tucks into her fish and chips. On holiday in Bournemouth, she is the kind of family person with two children Bournemouthians welcome.

thousands of hangers-on who will crowd its bars and restaurants. In their search for political indicators the 4,000 Tory delegates could do worse than look at the local situation.

Conservative territory, middle class and well-to-do. But in 1990 there was a recession and Bournemouth suffered.

felt suddenly very let down. The Liberal Democrats were the beneficiaries.

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Teenager hopes to set a conference record

JEMMA Nicholls (above), GCSE student, Oasis fan and would-be doctor, is a passionate advocate of the "prison works" school of thought, writes Geoffrey Gibbs.

The 14-year-old from Cheltenham is hoping to become the youngest speaker to address the party faithful this week. Her subject: Crime and punishment.

"I will be backing Michael Howard's reforms on life sentences, the end of automatic parole and stronger sentences for drug pushers and persistent burglars," she says.

Jemma, a pupil at Cheltenham's Bournside School, comes from a family steeped in Conservative politics. Her stepfather, Laurence Robertson, a self-employed charity fund-raiser, contested the Mackerfield and Ashfield constituencies at the last two elections and is now prospective parliamentary candidate for Tewkesbury.

Her mother, Susan, is an active party member, and her maternal grandfather was the Conservative leader of Little Lever council in Lancashire.

But political issues form only part of Jemma's life. She says her preferred reading is horror books.

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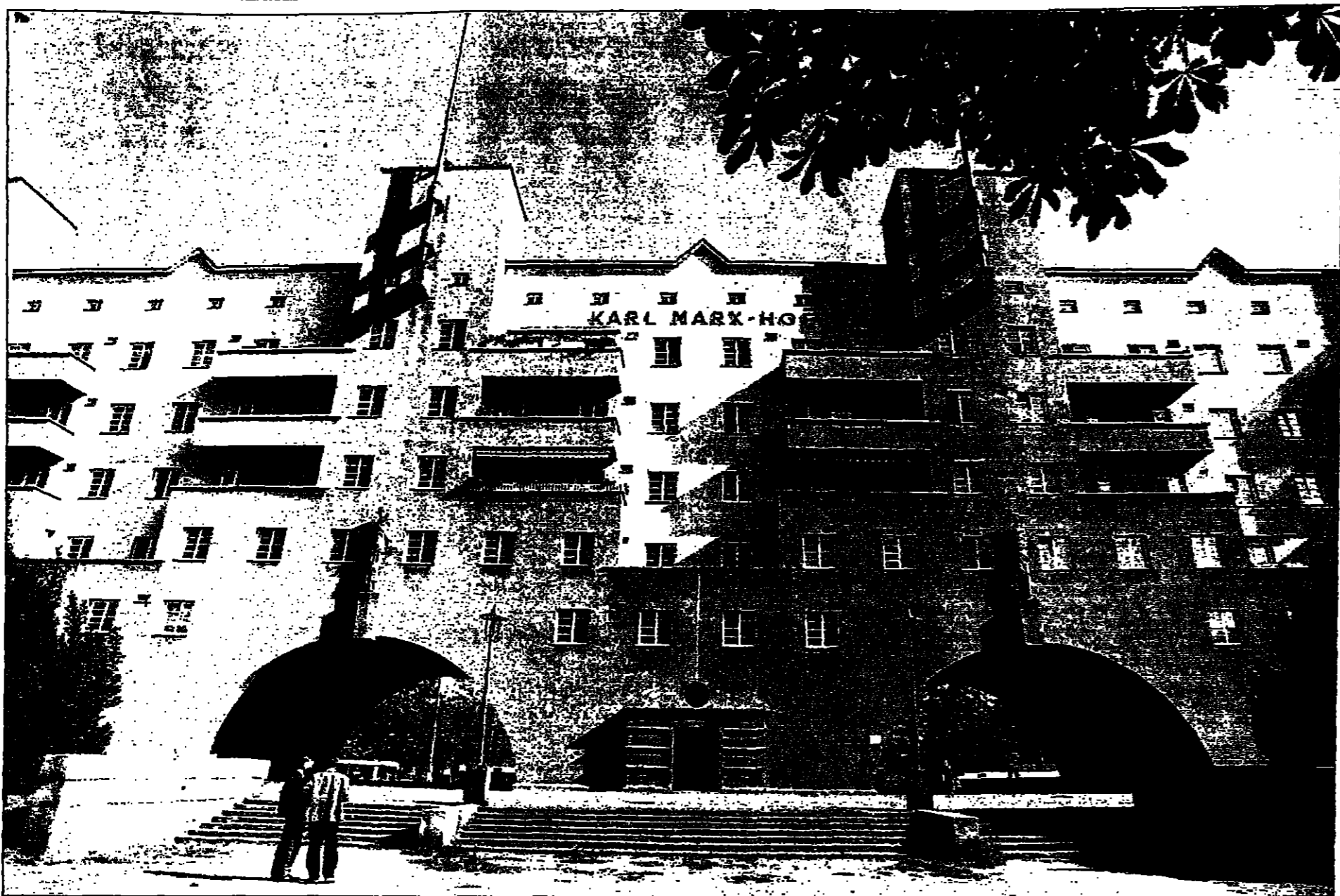
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UNCLE VANYA...
RIVERDANCE...
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MISS SAIGON...
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Haider puts a mine under Vienna's socialist bastion

The city's monument to leftwing hegemony is falling to the far right
Report: Ian Traynor. Main picture: David Sillitoe



Vranitzky: Faces big losses



Haider: Playing on fears

IN THE city which proudly boasts the highest proportion of public housing of any west European capital, there is no stronger symbol of "Red Vienna" than the Karl Marx-Hof. The vast expressionist bastion (above) in the north of the city was built in the Twenties, one of the continent's most ambitious urban housing projects for the poor. A few years later it became a battlefield as the socialists vainly fought to defend it against the artillery onslaught of rightwing "Austro-fascist" paramilitaries. Now the working-class tenants of the 1,400 flats, which were modernised a couple of years ago at the cost of \$23 million, are being wooed by the new "yuppie-fascist" Austrian

right, led by the telegenic Jörg Haider. This time, without a shot being fired, the Karl Marx-Hof may fall. "I've always voted socialist," said Franz, a market worker who lives in the block. "But this time it's a big question mark. This government is all promises and nothing else. In next Sunday's elections to the Vienna council and the European Parliament, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's Social Democrats (formerly Socialists) look certain to suffer substantial losses, while Mr Haider's Freedom Party, the most popular far-right party in the West, chalks up more gains. Opinion polls suggest that the Social Democrats will lose absolute control of the city for

the first time in its democratic history, and that there will be a sizeable anti-EU vote, two years after two out of three Austrians said yes to membership and 20 years after Mr Vranitzky took the country into the union. Franz, who is 55 and declined to give his surname, did not say explicitly he was switching his vote to Mr Haider, but he effectively recited the Haider manifesto to explain what was bothering him. He wanted immigration stopped, Austria's net contributions to the EU budget reimbursed, and a crackdown on crime — in one of Europe's safest cities. "For too long we've only had Red politicians in Vienna," he said. "I've got nothing

against foreigners if they work, but they're exploiting our welfare state. And I've got nothing against [phone] bugging if it prevents crime. They can bug me, I've got nothing to hide." All of this is lifted from Mr Haider's skillful soundbites. Mr Haider's campaign promises to breaking "red monopoly rule" in the capital, rails against Maastricht and the proposed single European currency, and fans xenophobia. Playing on their diffuse, unarticulated fears, Mr Haider is warning Franz and his fellow tenants in Karl Marx-Hof that Turkish immigrants will steal their flats and that their savings will be wiped out by the single currency. "This is our city. It is not Istanbul," he told a weekend

rally. "If the drachma rubs up against the strong schilling, obviously the schilling will be weakened and your savings will be worth less." The result is that working-class and elderly Viennese are turning away in droves from their traditional party, the Social Democrats, towards Mr Haider's angry rightwingers. "This will be unprecedented in Vienna, the end of that other world where the Social Democrats always had a majority," said Peter Ullram, head of the Fessel polling institute. "Haider is scoring well with the poor and the pensioners on the issues of job losses and crime." He predicts that the Social Democrat vote will fall by

seven points, to about 40 per cent, in the city elections, and by perhaps a third, compared with the last general election, in the European poll. This is Austria's first European election. Mr Haider is scoring about 25 per cent in the opinion polls, almost three points up on last December. His big breakthrough with the working class came in the last Vienna elections, in 1991, when he tripled his vote and supplanted the (Christian Democrat) Austrian People's Party as the second force in the city. "I voted for EU membership in the referendum," Franz said. "But now we see it's a big tower of Babel and the whole thing could come tumbling down."

World news in brief

'Spy' arrest fuels tension in Korea

WASHINGTON was dragged further into escalating tensions on the Korean peninsula yesterday after North Korea said it had arrested a United States citizen spying for South Korea. A South Korean security official dismissed the charge as a fabrication, and the US embassy in the capital Seoul could not confirm details about the alleged agent. The Korean Central News Agency said Evan Carl Hunsicker was arrested on August 24 by a North Korean security organisation after he crossed the Amnok river on the Chinese border with North Korea. The KCNA did not give further details or explain why he had been held since late August. "He admitted he is a US citizen and that he illegally entered the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the purpose of getting information on its domestic situation," it said. The charge drags Washington deeper into a feud between the North and South over the deaths of 22 of 26 North Koreans who landed from a submarine in the South last month. Pyongyang wants the return of the vessel, along with survivors and the bodies of the dead crew. — *Reuters, Seoul.*

Papal plea for prayers

POPE JOHN PAUL asked the world's Roman Catholics to pray for him yesterday before he entered Rome's Gemelli hospital for surgery to remove his appendix. "In asking you to accompany me with your prayer, I send cordial greetings to those in hospitals and clinics, knowing I can count on their spiritual solidarity," he told tens of thousands of people in St Peter's Square at the end of a beatification ceremony. The Pope, who looked tired during the three-hour ceremony, has had major abdominal surgery three times since 1981. Some medical experts and Italian media have expressed speculation about what the Vatican says is a recurrent inflammation of his appendix. He is likely to have the operation tomorrow. — *Reuters, Vatican City; John Hooper, page 9; The problem with John Paul, G2, pages 4-5.*

Belgian police search tunnel

BELGIAN police stepped up the search of an abandoned mine tunnel yesterday after the chief suspect in the country's paedophile scandal indicated something was hidden there. Engineers were brought in to pump water and mud from the partly flooded tunnel in the mine near the southern town of Jumet. Police officials said Marc Dutroux had given no indication of what they might find. Police denied they were searching for bodies, but Belgian television reported specialists in corpse identification at the scene. Dutroux, a convicted child-abuser, is accused of playing a leading role in a kidnapping and paedophile ring responsible for the deaths of at least four young girls. — *AP, Brussels.*

German fire test fans anger

EUROPEAN officials are likely to approve new regulations for the safety testing of building materials for flammability today, despite fears from firefighters that standards will be relaxed. The meeting in Brussels of the European Commission's standing committee on construction is preparing to adopt fire tests used in Germany in an attempt to harmonise more than 60 different fire-standards regulations across Europe. There are suggestions in Brussels that the Germans are trying to pressure other member states to accept the test because they do not want to change their own procedures. The move to accept the German standard is being made despite protests from Britain's Fire Brigades Union that the German tests are less satisfactory than those in place elsewhere. If approved, the new standard is likely to be enforced across Europe from 1999. — *Stephen Bates, Brussels.*

Children march for fresh air

ABOUT 400 children marched through the streets of Tehran yesterday demanding swift action to end air pollution in the Iranian capital. The children, aged six and seven, carried banners calling for people and the environment to be protected from pollution caused by factories and vehicles. "Life is good only under a blue sky. Elders, fathers, the smoke of your cars has made our lives black," said one placard. The march was sponsored by the Women's Campaign for Protecting the Environment and was licensed by the government. Many people in the city of 10 million complain of irritated eyes and breathing difficulties. — *AP, Tehran.*

Labour gain in New Zealand

New Zealand's Labour Party has closed the gap on the ruling National Party less than a week before a general election, according to a TVNZ opinion poll yesterday. The poll showed support for the National Party dropping six points to 34 per cent, Labour surged up six to 24 per cent. — *Reuters, Wellington.*

Gadafy deflates Turkish visitor

Chris Nuttall in Ankara

THE Turkish prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, came under fire at home again yesterday for trying to strengthen ties with the Muslim world. At the same time, the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gadhafi, delivered a slap in the face to his efforts to improve "brotherly" relations. In a face-to-face meeting in the Libyan coastal town of Sirte, Col Gadhafi criticised Turkey's suppression of Kurdish separatists in its southeast and its relations with the United States. "The state of Kurdistan should take its place in the spectrum of nations under the Middle Eastern sun," he said. "Turkey should not fight against people seeking their independence." Mr Erbakan was reported to be confused and shocked by the Libyan leader's remarks in front of about 50 Turkish journalists accompanying him on his controversial African tour. "We don't have a Kurdish problem, we have a terrorism problem," he said in an embarrassed response. Whatever the many differences between the prime minister's pro-Islamic Welfare Party and the other, secular, parties in the Turkish political system, all agree that the Kurdish separatist guerrillas of the PKK are terrorists and that Turkey's national unity and territorial integrity must be preserved at all costs. The Turkish opposition leader, Mesut Yilmaz, said yesterday that Mr Erbakan deserved everything he got for going to see the Libyan leader despite criticism at home and abroad. "If a terrorist dictator can try to teach a great country like Turkey these kinds of lessons, then that's the fault of our prime minister," he said. Col Gadhafi went on to criticise Turkey's relations with its closest ally, the United

States. "Foreign powers have invaded Turkey, built bases on its soil and used those bases against Iraq," he said. "We oppose US bases in Turkey and membership in Nato." These comments were less of a problem for the prime minister, who had voiced similar complaints while in opposition. Since taking office in June as the first Islamist leader of modern Turkey, he has gone out of his way to show supporters that he is not unduly influenced by the United States. His first major foreign trip took him to Iran to seal an important natural gas deal in the same week that the US president, Bill Clinton, announced sanctions against those investing heavily in the energy industries of Iran and Libya, countries he considers state sponsors of terrorism. Before the meeting with the Libyan leader, Mr Erbakan announced that trade should be tripled, with Turkey importing nearly \$1.3 billion worth of oil each year. Mr Erbakan was going on to visit Nigeria yesterday, another pariah in the eyes of the West because of its human rights record. He has spoken of improving relations with Cuba and was dissuaded by the Turkish foreign ministry from including Sudan on his African itinerary, another country listed as a state sponsor of terrorism by the Clinton administration. Turkey currently has a schizophrenic foreign policy, with the Welfare Party's coalition partner, the True Path Party (DYP), taking a traditional pro-Western line. The DYP leader and foreign minister, Tansu Ciller, has described the visit to Libya as ill-thought and the interior minister, Mehmet Agar, a DYP member, threatened to resign over the trip because of earlier derogatory remarks by Col Gadhafi about Turkey's handling of its Kurdish problem.

Lebed retreats from threat to Nato

The hard man from Moscow has softened his response to the alliance's expansion plans, John Palmer reports in Brussels

MOSCOW'S security chief, General Alexander Lebed, who last week spoke of a possible military response if Nato goes ahead with its planned expansion to central Europe, arrived at Nato headquarters in Brussels yesterday hinting at a more flexible Russian policy. Gen Lebed called for "a complicated but civilised dialogue" with Nato over European security. Speaking to journalists as he arrived for his first visit to a Western country, Gen Lebed — a potential successor to the ailing President Yeltsin — said he had brought with him some proposals for future relations with Nato. "Yes, there are some new proposals. But first of all they are for the ears of [the Nato secretary-

general] Javier Solana," he said. Before he left Moscow, Interfax quoted an unnamed Russian security council official as saying: "A Lebed opposes Nato expansion and will inform the leadership of the alliance about possible negative consequences of such a step." In an interview with the German news magazine Der Spiegel, to be published today, Gen Lebed declared: "The threat supposedly posed by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact five or 10 years ago no longer exists. But Nato formulates and realises its aims and tasks just as it did before." In Brussels yesterday Gen Lebed said: "We will evaluate the situation from the point of view of Russia's interests and security."

But he said he had been misrepresented in Western reports that he had threatened Nato with a new deployment of Russia's "rusty" nuclear missiles if it admitted the Czech republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. "Some commentators of ill-will have been saying that Lebed is threatening Nato with nuclear weapons and saying Russia is ready to occupy some of these countries if there is the slightest move of Nato to the east. These are the worst fairy tales of the Cold War," he said. Nato is attaching great importance to Gen Lebed's visit to its political and military headquarters as well as to the Western European Union, the defence arm of the EU. "During his visit to Nato

the general will be shown every aspect of the alliance and how it functions. He will see that we already have senior Russian generals liaising with Nato at our military headquarters in Mons," one Nato diplomat said. Nato has proposed a new "Russia/Nato Charter" to cover all aspects of a close European security partnership, in parallel with a limited enlargement to central Europe. Although President Yeltsin opposes any Nato enlargement, there have been signs that Moscow might accept some expansion if it did not involve stationing foreign troops or nuclear weapons closer to Russia's borders. Moscow is seeking guarantees that other countries anxious to join Nato — notably the Baltic states — will not be admitted without its consent. It also wants to establish a "partnership of equals" with Nato.

Bordeaux town hall bombed

Claudio Canellas in Bordeaux

FRANCE'S prime minister, Alain Juppé, toured his bombed offices in the city of Bordeaux yesterday as investigators said Corsican separatists might be responsible. Hours after a device damaged the elegant 18th century town hall, blowing out windows but causing no casualties, Mr Juppé flew from Paris under heavy escort but refused to speculate on the culprits. Mr Juppé, who had left his south-western power base only four hours before the blast late on Saturday, picked his way through a mess of broken glass, wrecked antique furniture and paintings. The device went off at



Police investigators inside Bordeaux's town hall, where a bomb exploded on Saturday. PHOTOGRAPH: MICHEL LACROIX

11.41pm local time outside the hall, where Mr Juppé had met local officials on Saturday morning and where a Franco-British summit was due to take place next month. "I am not the kind of man who lets himself be intimidated. The rule of law will prevail," he told reporters, adding that he would meet interior and justice ministers today to discuss what measures should be taken. Wood panelling suffered from the blast, and the painted ceiling was cracked. French windows were blown

out, but a crystal chandelier escaped unharmed. The blast also damaged Juppé's own office. "I heard a huge explosion then saw a cloud of smoke in the sky," said a witness. The Bordeaux prosecutor, Patrice Davost, said no warning had been issued and no one had claimed responsibility. Investigators said separatist guerrillas waging a long bombing campaign on the French Mediterranean island of Corsica might have planted the device, reportedly made up of plastic explosive or dynamite. The Corsican National Liberation Front-Historical Wing last week claimed responsibility for a bomb outside the law courts in the southern city of Aix-en-Provence, the first on the mainland for several years. — *Reuters.*

Spring seeks role for EU in Israel

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Europe forces its way into Middle East peace process as Christopher presses for rapid results

Spring seeks role for EU in Israel

John Palmer in Dublin and Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE European Union made a defiant intervention in the Middle East peace process last night by sending the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring, to Jerusalem to seek a bigger EU role in negotiations on the Israeli crisis.

The United States secretary of state, Warren Christopher, also arrived in Jerusalem for the latest round of the talks his country is sponsoring. He urged the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, and the Palestinian Authority president, Yasser Arafat, to make rapid progress.

Despite Tel Aviv's initial opposition and Washington's marked lack of support, EU leaders meeting in Dublin insisted that Mr Spring, representing the EU presidency, should meet Mr Netanyahu and Mr Arafat today.

The EU governments are also thinking of appointing a permanent representative to the Middle East, in a role similar to that played by Carl Bildt in Bosnia. The former Spanish prime minister Felipe Gonzalez is one of those being considered for the job.

As the Dublin summit discussed the Middle East crisis there were persistent reports that Mr Christopher had sent a message asking the EU not to get too closely involved in the talks. The Israeli government had already made clear its anger at the EU foreign ministers' condemnation last week of Israel's refusal to implement the existing peace agreements, calling on it to withdraw from Hebron, and opposing its claim to sovereignty over all Jerusalem.

President Hosni Mubarak



A Palestinian woman calmly balances her burden as she passes through the Bethlehem-Jerusalem checkpoint, reopened by Israel yesterday after a 10-day security closure of the main Arab towns in the West Bank

of Egypt, uncomfortably distant from the centre of the stage, delivered a sharp rebuke to Israel. President Bill Clinton called for partnership and early tangible results.

After the long day of public and private negotiations the negotiators finally met last night in the bleak new conference chamber on the Israeli side of the Erez crossing, on the border of the Gaza Strip.

The first session was expected to be largely ceremonial and agenda-setting. The real business will begin today and could last for several weeks.

Mr Netanyahu is reported to have urged his negotiators, led by Dan Shomron, to seek an early deal on the crucial Hebron issue, in response to heavy pressure from Washington to restore some life to the Oslo peace accords before

next month's US presidential elections.

But he firmly refused to talk of target dates yesterday. "What we seek is a simultaneous recommitment by both sides to the principles that both signed up to in Oslo," he said.

Mr Mubarak who, having failed to get Mr Netanyahu to take in Cairo turned down an invitation to the Washington summit, chided Mr Netanyahu for saying he was committed to peace but wanted new negotiations on existing agreements.

"The principle of renegotiation is a dangerous one," he said in a television interview. "These are agreements that are internationally recognised, that were signed here in Egypt and in the United States.

One must respect them or there will be a catastrophe."

Agencies bite bullet in Kabul

The ban on working women has led to an aid crisis. Jonathan Steele reports from the Afghan capital on the gentle approach

AS thousands of women doctors, teachers and other professionals in Kabul, the Afghan capital, start a second week at home, Western aid agencies have decided not to confront the Taliban authorities over the ban on working women and its closure of girls' schools.

After two long and agonised meetings, the non-governmental organisations operating in Afghanistan are taking a softly-softly approach in a joint statement which will be handed today to Mullah Mohammad Ghans, the acting foreign minister in the new caretaker government.

Mullah Ghans, who also belongs to the Taliban's ruling council, gave the first press conference yesterday since the fundamentalist militia captured Kabul 10 days ago. He made it clear that the government wants international goodwill.

"We hope all countries will take an active part in the reconstruction of our country. Without foreign assistance it will be hard for Afghanistan to stand on its feet," he said.

He repeatedly pleaded for aid, saying it had been wrong for the outside world to "neglect" Afghanistan after the Soviet Union was forced to withdraw. Al-

though he implied that Afghanistan could not accept conditions for aid, since this would be interference in the country's internal affairs, his insistent call for help showed he understood the country was in a weak position. "No government has officially declared its recognition," he admitted.

Nevertheless, the dom-

inant mood among the international aid community in Kabul is to give the Taliban time and not turn the issue of the veil into a clash of principle. The NGOs' joint statement to the authorities is understood to say the agencies of Afghanistan "respect the local cultures of Afghanistan".

It contains no hint of withdrawal of aid if the Taliban's position of women is not changed. Privately, however, agency officials say aid is the international community's only leverage. For the time being, all agencies have told their women staff not to come to work. In practice, this has meant the collapse of al-

most every aid project. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees runs programmes for women in tailoring, carpet-weaving, and jewellery making. They are paid in cash or food. But programmes for young men in mechanics, car repairs and masonry have also stopped because women help to monitor them.

Despite the crisis, the big agencies claim the gentle approach is best. "We're not a human rights organisation, we're a human assistance programme," said Thomas Gurtner, deputy head of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"We work on the basis that the Taliban will need time to reassess," said Charles McFadden, director of Arbar, which acts as a central advocate for 74 agencies. "They've got all these boys from the villages who've never seen women except behind a veil and are now running around Kabul."

Sue Emmott of Oxfam feels urgency and principle are crucial. Faced with the order to send female staff home, she sent the male staff too. "I wanted to send a message that all our staff are handled equally. We don't want to be confrontational. We're just trying to demonstrate who we are and what we believe in."

If the Taliban fail to change their anti-women policy, Oxfam may have to suspend its operations, she said. It is not a decision Oxfam would take lightly.

Canada seeks land mine ban by 2000

Graig Turner in Ottawa

CANADA will put forward an international treaty to ban land mines by 2000 and invite other nations to sign it here next year.

The foreign minister, Lloyd Axworthy, announced the initiative at the weekend after a three-day conference on land mines attended by delegates from 70 countries in the Canadian capital. He acted after the participating governments failed to agree a date

for enforcing a ban. Almost 50 countries endorse a prohibition, but disagree about how extensive it should be and whether to allow exemptions.

The United States opposed a deadline for enacting a treaty, and US officials reacted cautiously to the initiative.

"We're not prepared to set a date, but we are prepared to start work immediately on an agreement to ban land mines. If it can take place within that time frame, and our concerns can be met, we'll be supportive," said Karl F Underfurth,

the deputy US ambassador to the United Nations.

The United States has declared a moratorium on the export of mines, is destroying 3 million mines in its stockpile and is backing a UN resolution for a worldwide ban. But it wants the Demilitarised Zone between North and South Korea to be exempt, saying mines are needed to protect the South from attack.

Some 110 million mines are in place worldwide, killing or injuring 26,000 people a year. — Los Angeles Times

Anguish for Republican candidates

Martin Walker in Washington

MORE than 500 Republican candidates for the House of Representatives and the Senate will be locked in anguished telephone consultations this morning trying to decide whether their presidential candidate Bob Dole did well enough in last night's television debate to keep them from deserting their party's standard-bearer.

"My advice is do what you have to do in your own constituency to win," the Republican congressional leader, Newt Gingrich, advised his fretting troops on the eve of the debate.

The 90-minute encounter in Hartford, Connecticut, was the last real chance for Mr Dole to reverse his ebbing support in the opinion polls and the two candidates were intensely rehearsed for the modern equivalent of a medieval trial by ordeal.

Mr Clinton was prepared for a much-rumoured announcement that retired general Colin Powell would be secretary of state in a Republican administration. Mr Dole had a discreet private breakfast with Gen Powell last Thursday at which he pressed America's best-known African-American Republican to rally to his side.

Mr Dole prepared for his ordeal by flying in George Bush for a personal lunch-time briefing on the former president's experience facing what Mr Dole called "that wily debater" at the podium.

But the debate was foredoomed to be a hollow occasion. The absence of the Reform Party candidate Ross Perot robbed it in advance of much of its potential policy substance. Mr Perot's obsession with the need to protect American jobs could have punctured the Dole-Clinton consensus on free trade.

Mr Dole had to make the debate a bold rescue operation by reminding the voters of their deep-seated doubts about Mr Clinton's character while convincing them that, for once, they could believe a presidential candidate who promised a 15 per cent tax cut.

"There is so much cynicism," Mr Dole's vice-presidential running mate Jack Kemp, grumbled to an interviewer last week. "People just don't trust politicians to carry out their promises. It's going to take time to show that we are serious."

With the Dow Jones stock market index apparently about to break the record of 6,000 points, unemployment at 5 per cent and the economy growing at 4.7 per cent a year, Mr Clinton would have been content last night to rest on his happy economic record.

He was given a useful extra boost yesterday when two leading environmental groups, the Sierra Club and the League of Conservation Voters, formally endorsed his reelection, despite the Green Party candidacy of the consumers' advocate Ralph Nader.

Yawn away from victory, G2 Media, page 9

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New Delhi Diary

Suzanne Goldenberg

ARELY has such a lowly insect been greeted with a hard slap. But at a health exhibition this weekend, people crowded around a net cage filled with dozens of buzzing tiger-striped Aedes mosquitoes, tiny killers responsible for an epidemic that is panicking well-to-do areas of Delhi normally believed immune against pestilence and disease. The Aedes mosquito is a day vector, unlike its better-known malaria-bearing cousin (displayed in an adjacent enclosure for comparison). The smaller variety carries dengue fever, a virus which can lead to death.

Within the last month, more than 1,100 people in the capital have caught dengue fever, and nearly 70 have died — mainly children. Dengue has been around, relatively unnoticed for years, but the current cases officially make this latest manifestation an epidemic.

The large-scale return of the disease, after its last visitation four years ago, owes much to urbanisation and a relative rise in prosperity. The mosquito breeds in cities, and in relatively clean waters. It prefers the hole in the ground which is waiting for the next tower block to be built or dark confines of desert coolers, which are a local, affordable, answer to air conditioning.

As India's cities grow, and as more people invest in coolers, the disease will spread, says Dr K K Datta, the director of the National Institute of Communicable Diseases. "If you walk into any house today you find a cooler. Even servants' houses have them."

Most of those who have fallen ill come from Delhi's better-off neighbourhoods, because they can afford coolers and are knowledgeable enough to go to hospital where their cases can be registered. Alarmingly for the middle classes, the epidemic has hit them directly. Among those infected are doctors and nurses at Delhi's best teaching hospital, and employees at university campuses a few miles away.

Local newspapers have fed off those afflicted just as the mosquitoes did. The Times of India runs a daily Viral Spiral column, and all the papers have carried useful information on symptoms and treatment. But they have also succumbed to hysteria, revelling in the daily death toll and shortages at blood banks due to the rush for transfusions.

In some ways, the panic is reminiscent of the outbreak of the plague two years ago. Although doctors now doubt that disease crept northwards from its origins in western India, Delhi-fites took no chances, wearing surgical masks and rolling the windows of their air-conditioned cars to the top.

Contrast this with the relative silence on far more rampant killers: diarrhoeal diseases which claim one million children a year, and tuberculosis, which kills 500,000 annually after lifetimes of suffering.

Although malaria kills fewer people than its emerging competitor, there are 105 million new cases a year, and it is spreading more rapidly. In many parts of India, infant mortality is rising. Except for air pollution, blamed for the deaths of 7,500 people from respiratory ailments in New Delhi alone, most of the diseases strike in rural areas, where doctors are less readily available, even if people are educated enough to seek help.

Some argue that dengue owes its media cachet to complacency about diseases that now prey on the poor. Millions of people still succumb to ancient scourges because of malnutrition, lack of clean drinking water, and restricted access to medical care. The rich can buy protection at private hospitals.

But, as during the season of the plague, the dengue fever epidemic has highlighted the collapse of urban sanitation and public health systems. The present budget allots just 1.4 per cent of government spending to health.

Now the boundaries are breaking down, and even the wealthy are vulnerable. "A mosquito does not respect a rich man or a poor man," Dr Datta says. "Those who are dying are those not expected to die."



Why the Vatican is now an open city

Commentary

John Hooper

AMONG the Vatican's many taboos, one of the strictest is against public discussion of the Papal succession. You will never get a member of the Curia (the Vatican administration) to talk openly about it. Any broadcast or print medium which gazes into the crystal ball to see who might be the next Pope can expect to pay a price. Its correspondent in Rome will discover open doors suddenly slamming shut.

This is understandable. Before there is a succession, there has to be a death. And there is something distasteful about speculating on events stemming from a death. Yet speculation about how long the Pope will live and what happens after he dies is going to be rife in the next few days. Last night, he was due to check into the Gemelli Hospital in Rome for what Vatican spokesmen insist is a minor operation — the removal of a

grumbling appendix. In the past few months almost everyone has been talking about the Pope's health. It has been a matter of concern to Roman Catholics. But what about everybody else? The customary explanations are inadequate. The one most often cited is that the pontiff has immense power as spiritual leader of the world's "one billion Roman Catholics". There may not, in fact, be a billion practising believers — that is the Vatican's estimate of the number of people who have been baptised as Roman Catholics — but the Pope's views, particularly on birth control, clearly influence the future of the world. However, they condition rather than determine it. Recent studies of population growth have shown millions of Roman Catholics are quietly ignoring their Church's teaching on contraception. Italy now has the lowest birth rate the world has ever seen. Above it, but still low in the world league table, is Spain. And there is evidence a sharp fall beginning in Latin America.

Factors probably connected with greater prosperity and more education have had far more of an impact on the behaviour of men and women baptised as Roman Catholics than the pronouncements of the man they acknowledge to be St Peter's successor.

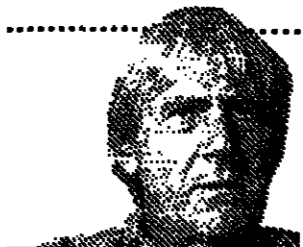
It can also be argued that since the papacy is both an absolute monarchy and a job for life, the health of the current incumbent will be extremely important. It is true that the papacy is an absolute monarchy, but the pontificate is not necessarily a job for life. Popes can resign.

Other factors have done much more to concentrate such attention on the medical condition of Karol Wojtyla. One is the nature of the man, and the other the nature of his papacy. He took his job when he was in vigorous form. He is the Pope who has once been a manual worker, who seemed immune to jet lag and long hours, the Pope who strode up mountains and had a swimming pool built at his country mansion. Yet he has been reduced by age, overwork and a mysterious assassin's bullet to someone who, though only in his mid-seventies, now often looks, moves and sounds much older than he really is.

John Paul now often looks, moves and sounds a much older man than he really is

ties, now often looks, moves and sounds much older. This man has a peculiar relationship with life, death and suffering. He escaped assassination by centimetres and, like many who have come so close, appears to discern divine intention in his survival. He has declared his determination to live until the year 2000 and, as Marco Pöhl, Vatican-watcher for the newspaper La Repubblica, remarked yesterday, "John Paul II has already made it clear he has no intention of resigning. As a genuine mys-

The dark nights of the Round Table



Paul Foot

I SUFFER from BBIV syndrome. It was first identified in a letter written by Shelley after he learned of the Peterloo massacre in 1819. "The torrent of indignation," he wrote, "has not yet done boiling in my veins."

spokesman tells me it was formed in 1927 "to encourage fellowship among young men and to help other people". Did this include women? And sexually abusing women? No, the spokesman said. The National Association of Round Tables, which "is not a racist organisation and does a hell of a lot of good," had "regretted" what happened at Derby.

Had the Association at least recommended that Manning should never again be invited to Round Table functions? The spokesman did not know. He said he would send me a copy of a letter about the matter by the national president to all the Round Tables — but he didn't. He also said that if he'd heard the Manning smut, he would have walked out. It had never occurred to him that this sort of abuse would only be stopped when it is openly challenged.

Until the Round Table makes it clear that racism, sexism and Bernard Manning will be outlawed from their functions, I will go on regarding them as a bunch of bourgeois greedies whose main function is to stuff their stomachs and congratulate themselves on their charitable works and social superiority.

WITH each new glorious revelation about the Greer/Hamilton affair, I take a trip down memory lane to the packed town hall in Wakefield in 1972 where I reported the bankruptcy proceedings of Yorkshire architect John Poulson. The barrister for the trustee in bankruptcy, Muir Hunter QC, referred tantalisingly to the "parliamentary file" — which apparently revealed a wide range of Poulson's payments to MPs who had helped him.

An embarrassed House of Commons dealt with all this by accepting the resignation of one MP, reprimanding another and exculpating another (the former Home Secretary). One reason for this mild response was that Poulson's favours were evenly distributed between the two main parties, so no one wanted to kick up a fuss.

Today, most recipients of such perks are Tories. None of this excuses the exceptions. It was shocking to hear Chris Smith, Doug Hoyle etc try to pass the Greer payments to their constituencies as harmless. Greer is not a Labour supporter. He sprays constituencies with money for one reason only: because he hopes the payments one day will assist his company or his clients.

THOUGHT for the Day. Income Data Services report that in the first three months of this year the average gain made by directors of companies who "exercised" their share options (at their expense) was £140,000. This represents, on average, 10 years' hard work by the workers in their companies.

John Gray believes that the Tory party has no choice but to continue with its negative campaign



Down and dirty

THE disclosures surrounding Neil Hamilton MP may have finally put paid to the strategy of the Tory party chairman, Dr Brian Mawhinney, of warning voters that Labour can't be trusted with power.

The government of John Major cannot avoid being deeply tainted by what has been revealed. It is no good it saying that the electorate has become mistrustful of the entire political class. That may well be true. But the way the Hamilton affair has been handled will confirm voters' worst suspicions. It tells them

that, after 17 years of Conservative rule, the barriers between the institutions of the British state, the government and the ruling party of the day, on which our freedoms depend, have crumbled.

Voters' mistrust of Conservative government is now inevitable. They fear another term of Tory rule. This fact alone must put in considerable doubt the efficacy of the New Labour. New Danger campaign on which so much has been staked. We all know why he adopted the campaign of denouncing and warning voters. One of the results of that leadership has been to

exorcise the boogies from which the Tory party has drawn its strength over the past century. By removing its traditional enemy, Blair has stripped the Tory party of much of its identity. It is bad enough not knowing, after nearly two decades in power, what you are for. It is even worse if you can no longer be sure what you are against. What then is Dr Mawhinney to do?

The differences between the Conservatives and Labour today are real and deep. The Tories, it tells us that the City has already discounted a Labour victory — and is unfazed by the prospect of a generation for which tomorrow's nationalists would bet the farm.

None of this contains any comfort for Dr Mawhinney. He is stuck with the job of denouncing Labour and Tony Blair. Labour must prepare itself for a Tory campaign of exceptional ugliness. By now such an entirely negative campaign, however ruthlessly promoted, has scarcely any chance of working. For the Conservative leadership, however, no other option remains. A message of cynicism and negation is the only one that the Tories have for Britain.

Wanted: ideas the politicians won't propose

Larry Elliott opens our new free access zone with a demand for a carbon tax

ANOTHER MANIFESTO

LABOUR'S conference last week was a wonder to behold. It was pecked, stage-managed, choreographed beautifully. This week the circus moves to Bournemouth, where the Conservatives will try to turn the same trick. The public are rightly suspicious of this process, which is fast becoming the epitome of style over content. Parties insist on keeping to their tightly-defined agendas, which in some of the key areas are virtually indistinguishable.

spoken about. Monetary union is off-limits, as is the legalisation of cannabis, the reduction of the age of consent, widening the range of goods and services covered by VAT, privatisation of education and voters alternative ideas. Week by week, we will be seeking to widen the debate by presenting the innovative, the constructive and the ingenious ideas that the mainstream political parties prefer to ignore. We invite any group or individual to offer suggestions — big or small — for inclusion in Another Manifesto. Provided that they are not

illogical, illegal or insane then they will all be considered. As polling day approaches, a panel of outside experts will judge which ideas most deserve to be taken up by our political masters and put to the people.

One idea is the introduction of a carbon tax, which is highly unlikely to feature in either the Conservative or Labour manifestos. Environmentalists say that a carbon tax makes ecological sense because it cuts down on the carbon dioxide emissions that are causing global warming. They argue that it is absurd to tax things we want more of — jobs — while at the same time leaving untouched a thing we want less of: pollution.

Revenue raised from the levy could be used to cut National Insurance contributions for employers, making it cheaper to hire staff. Or it could be a way for the Conservatives to reduce income tax or for Gordon Brown to cut the starting rate of tax to 10p in the pound. And tougher taxes on pollution would encourage the development of alternative energy sources and force UK industry to come up with cleaner technologies. Germany, Japan and Scandinavia are well ahead of Britain when it comes to firms selling anti-pollution devices. This is one of the fastest-growing and most lucrative areas of the global economy.

Opponents argue that a carbon tax would force up prices and hit the poorest hardest, because they spend a higher proportion of their limited incomes on fuel and

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Lord Roskill of Newtown

Trials of intellect

EUSTACE Roskill, who has died aged 85, was one of his generation's outstanding commercial lawyers, who, while he intermittently stepped aside to perform public service in a number of fields, scaled the judicial heights that befitted his intellectual talents. In the public mind, his name is associated with the Committee on Fraud Trials which, in 1986, recommended the replacement of trial by jury for serious fraud cases by a judge and two expert lay members. Although the recommendation has never been acted upon, recent criminal trials have put the recommendation back on the political agenda.

Roskill was the youngest of a quartet of brothers, sons of John Roskill KC and Sybil Dilke MP, who all won distinction in public life. His eldest brother, Ashton, was also a distinguished commercial lawyer with whom Eustace had some titanic battles in the courtroom before Ashton left the Bar to become chairman of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. Eustace went from Winchester to Exeter College, Oxford, where he gained a first in history. It was his academic record that was constantly seen to be in play, in forming and punctuating many of his judgments, both on and off the Bench.

He spent nearly a quarter of a century as a judge, 10 years as a trial judge and 15 as appellate judge (10 of them in the Court of Appeal through-
out the 1970s). As a trial judge sitting in the commercial court, he found his niche, exhibiting an astonishing ability to absorb a mass of evidential detail, promptly organising it, and delivering an extempore judgment of perfect symmetry. In an action in 1966, involving the ostensible or apparent authority of a company director, he delivered an off-the-cuff judgment beyond the "11th hour of the eve of the Christmas Vacation" — covering 15 pages of the law report (some 7,000 words), which the Court of Appeal dubbed as a *tour de force*.

Roskill was much less at home in the criminal court. His handling of the trial at the Old Bailey in the Millicham Co-op murder case in November 1962 came under heavy criticism in the Court of Criminal Appeal. Two of the three defendants found guilty by the jury succeeded on appeal. The court said of comments made by the trial judge about some defence evidence: "To say that he was pouring scorn on an expert witness for the defence was scarcely putting it too high. It was incumbent on the judge to deal with it fully and fairly." That was an abjection, out of character and remains inexplicable. But the incident, and a transfer to public duties, delayed his promotion.

Seymour Cray

Prototype nerd who changed the world

SEYMOUR Cray, who has died aged 71, some weeks after a car crash, is recognised as the Father of Supercomputing, and designed most of the world's fastest computers. Today, these are used for things like weather forecasting, seismic analysis, and hi-tech product development, but initially the market consisted of "spooks and nukes". The spooks used them for things like creating and cracking secret codes, while the nukes used them to simulate H-bomb explosions. Indeed, Cray told Science magazine that the ability to test bombs on a computer "seems to me to be the vehicle that led to the Test Ban Treaty" in 1963.

Cray's name first became known outside the computer industry when his company, Cray Research, shipped its first Cray-1 supercomputer to America's Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in 1976. But by then he had already spent 25 years designing high-speed computers and, almost single-handedly, creating an industry. Larry Smart, director of America's National Centre for Supercomputing Applications at the University of Illinois, said: "There wouldn't really be a supercomputer industry as we know it but for Seymour Cray."

And it happened by accident. In 1961, after graduating from the University of Minnesota, in Minneapolis, with a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering and a master's in applied mathematics, Cray was wondering what to do next. "It was just a fortunate coincidence that I ended up at the beginning of computing," he said. One of his instructors suggested he just go down the street to Engineering Research Associates, who were developing cryptographic equipment for the US Navy in an old glider factory in St Paul, Minneapolis. It gave Cray the chance to design his first computer, the 1102. Cray continued to work in the same place with the same people, when ERA was taken over by Remington Rand, and then by Sperry, which produced the first commercial mainframe computer, the Univac.

Jackdaw

meister's daughter? An example of the Nobel Prize for literature's winner, Wislawa Szymborska. The poem is called "Hilfer's First Photograph" and is taken from the collection, "The People on the Bridge", 1986.

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Little Hitler

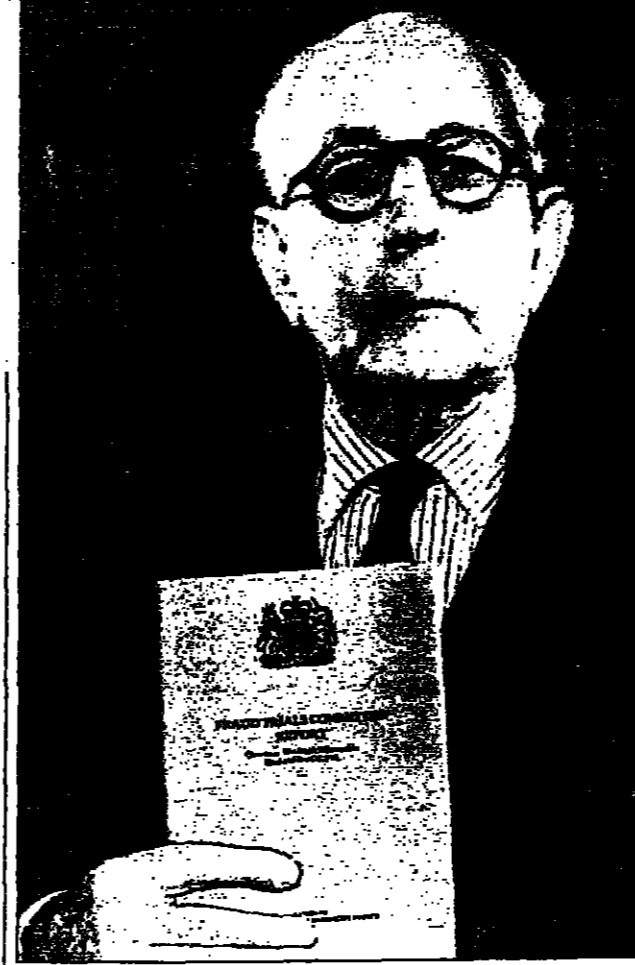
AND who's this little fellow in his little dirty robe? That's tiny baby Adolf, the Hitler's little boy! Will he grow up to be a L.L.D.? Or a tenor in Vienna's Opera House? Whose teeny hand is this, whose little ear and eye and nose? Whose tummy full of milk, we just don't know, printer's, doctor's, merchant's, priest's? Where will those tootsy-wooties finally wander? To a garden, to a school, to an office, to a bride? Maybe to the Burger-

A dog's life

TAZ, he used to be so depressed! In fact he was bunting out. Life wasn't fun at

Shedding light

These questions and their answers, should, with your assistance and input, provide an understanding of sheds which will be seen as a



Lord Roskill with his present Fraud Trials report in 1966

making new law in his judicial capacity. Outside the courtroom, his abiding professional love was for his inner Court. He was never happier than when he was dining in Middle Temple hall, with its magnificent hammer-beam roof and oak-paneled walls. He became the Inn's treasurer in 1980 and continued right up to the last days of his life to show a keen interest in the affairs of the Inn.

A haughty manner — exemplified by the shape of his mouth, the tone of speech and the tilt of his head — could conceal the warmth and friendliness towards his fellow human beings, particularly those of the younger

Martyn Harris

Laughing in the face of fear

AT THIS beginning of his comic and darkly melancholy second novel, *The Mother-in-Law Jake*, Martyn Harris quotes Will Rogers: "Everything can be funny so long as it happens to somebody else." But for Martyn — one of the best and most truthful journalists of our time, who has died of lymphoma, aged 43 — this was an ironic statement, for he was his own best and cruellest joke.

He treated himself with the same sardonic humour, merciless criticism and tender scorn that he could turn on other people. He never did himself any favours, never stood on his own dignity. Instead, he put himself on the line, for his readers and for his friends, mocked his own intimate mistakes and terrors. For a man so successful and shiny, witty and sharp, he was extraordinarily unprotected, raw to his life and to his death. And he faced dying with the same vivid fear and unshrinking courage with which he faced living.

He was born in Swansea, the son of a greengrocer-father and a teacher-mother, who both survive him. He went to Swansea's Bishop Gore Grammar School, where he was unwisely clever. Although he left Swansea for Kent University, he never lost his Welshness: his dark hair, pale stubbly skin, the cadence of his voice, his enduring childhood friends, the sense of being somehow an outsider, his leaving politics, his love of Welsh pubs and Welsh landscapes, and the tug of the Welsh Church which gave him his complicated faith and capacity for gull.

George Reid

GEORGE Reid, who has died in London aged 89, was the Dublin-born schoolkeeper of St Aloysius Boys' School in Highgate, north London, who with his wife Kitty probably had the largest extended family in the capital. Not content with his own mini-tribal system who ate together weekly, he and Kitty managed to foster 234 boys and girls who were difficult to place. No one was ever turned away or asked to swear allegiance to the Pope.

Emily Sheffield

but he was never a bully, he was always original. His met his first wife, Cathy Meuss, at university and they lived together from 1978-82, having two children, Sarah and Tom. In his second wife, Caroline Heier, who he met at New Society, he found his match for honesty, humour, the capacity for intimacy. She was unconditional and unservient. She delighted him, and she sustained him during the cancer years. They had a son, Jo.

Birthdays

Jenny Abramsky, controller, BBC Radio 5 Live, 50; Christopher Booker, journalist and author, 59; Joseph Cooper, pianist and broadcaster, 64; Clive James, critic and broadcaster, 67; Thomas Kenally, novelist, 61; Pamela Mallinson, secretary, Forestry Commission, 42; Yaitah Menzlin, pianist, 75; Maj-Gen Julian Thompson, Falklands war commander, 62; Jayne Torvill, ice skater, 39; The Most Rev Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, 66.

Death Notices

ILLISTEN. Peacefully in hospital on Oct 4th, Betty, wife of Bobby, widow of Len. Funeral Service at Oldens Green Crematorium, 11.30am. Floral tributes may be sent to Leaver & Sons Ltd, 212 Eversholt Street, London NW1.

In Memoriam

JACKSON, Gary C, died 7th October 1987, aged 55. Forever in our hearts and minds.

Birthdays

READ, Hyf, heavy 65th birthday to my Golden Glade, Lough Beg, Co. Tyrone. To place your announcement telephone 071 713 4627. Fax 071 713 4252.



Cray and his last completed supercomputer, Cray-3, in 1994

"The Hermit of Chippewa Falls" building tunnels under his house. In any event, it worked. Cray came up with the CDC6600, and CDC quickly took over the scientific computer business — to the chagrin of the almighty IBM, whose boss, Tom Watson Jr, fired off an angry memo because he didn't like being beaten by a company with only 34 employees "including the janitor".

responsibilities for all of the peripheral aspects of life to someone else. Cray was a "computer nerd" long before the term was invented, and little is known of his personal and family life, though he married and raised three children. His father, a Chippewa Falls city engineer, was also "a thing-oriented person" instead of human-oriented person. Cray said, and his mother provided whatever social contact he had. He added: "I only ask the same of my wife now. Take me out on the town once in a while. But not too often."

Jack Schofield

Seymour Cray, computer designer, born September 28, 1925; died October 5, 1996

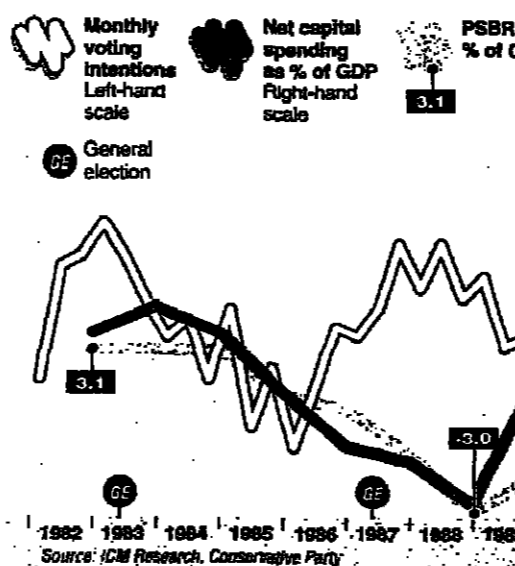
Millyd Harrington

George Patrick Reid, schoolkeeper, born September 7, 1907; died September 12, 1996



Falklands War, 1982 Brighton bomb, 1984 Margaret Thatcher, 1987 Kenneth Clarke, 1993

Conservatives



Election results

Year	Seats	% of votes
May 1979	339	43.9
June 1983	357	42.4
June 1987	276	25.4
June 1988	336	43.4
April 1992	206	25.0
Forecast 1996	-	31.5



John Major, 1996

ELECTION BATTLEGROUND/Same old Tories, the same old stagnation and drift

Local power rates little with this lot

SARAH RYLE sees a paradox behind the promises of decentralisation

ONE OF the key Conservative promises has been to keep central government's role to a minimum. So it is ironic that the party of decentralisation should have done so much to centralise functions and finance which were once run by local authorities.

"There has been no more crucial period for local government in its history," said Robin Went, secretary of the Association of County Councils.

"Many people in local government feel that it has been part of Conservative ideology to remove their power. "There is a feeling that the Conservatives could not accept that bodies with such power might have a different view from the Government's."

The most vital blow has been the reduction of locally-raised revenue from more than 50 per cent of budgets to roughly 20 per cent in Eng-

land, and less in Wales. This began in the early 1980s when the government restricted the spending of a handful of authorities, the precursor to more widespread although still selective capping which in turn gave way to universal capping.

"Whereas when the Tories came to power, local authorities could decide for themselves the size of the cake and how it should be cut, now they can only decide how to cut the cake they are given," Mr Went said.

Central government effectively decides how much council tax locally elected representatives should charge their communities because it sets the grant from Whitehall and determines the spending limit.

This has benefited some councils, most notoriously Westminster, which receive large grants and therefore charge low council tax, and has worked to the detriment of others, despite supposedly objective criteria.

CENTRAL government now also determines the business rate, once locally levied. The two other main aspects of centralisation, as the local authorities see it, are the transfer of functions such as education to central gov-

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ernment and the enforced contracting out of first blue collar and then white collar services.

First the former polytechnics and then the sixth-form colleges were taken away from local authorities' remit, transferring power to higher education and further education quangos which monitor

and fund individual governing bodies. Schools, too, can now opt out of local education authority control, receiving their funds direct from Whitehall.

Although the Conservatives argue that this has devolved power to governing bodies, councils argue that they had considerable autonomy in

any case, and say that these bodies are no longer accountable to their local communities but to Westminster instead.

The only significant responsibility handed over to local government since 1979 has been the provision of social services, Mr Went said.

In the case of compulsory competitive tendering, the Government and Conservative councillors argue that the criteria for contracts are set by local authorities and that competition provides the best value for money.

Many others view it as another way of reducing councils' remit while adding to their administrative burden.

PERHAPS the Conservatives' final attempt to alter the face of local government was total reorganisation with the purpose of replacing the county and district two-tier system with unitary authorities.

In Wales and Scotland, there was no consultation. Both now have unitary authorities. In England, there was a concession. A commission was formed under Sir John Banham and the result is that of 99 county councils at the start of the process, 34 remain. Two-tier government still covers 23 million people.

It may be a measure of how disaffected with the Conservatives' approach to local government the electorate has become that the party now only controls one county council in England, Buckinghamshire.

But Mr Went believes that it is more likely to be a reflection of voters being influenced by national issues when they select local councillors.

"Within five years of a Labour government, it will probably start to swing the other way and after ten years then the political complexion of councils would almost certainly be transformed from what it is now," he said.

The game's up, under any name



Larry Elliott

AS POLLING day approached in 1979, Jim Callaghan knew the game was up for Labour. There was such a mood shift and such a hunger for change that he was powerless to resist. What was true 17 years ago is again true now. A stench of rot and decay seeps from the Conservatives.

The parallels between Labour 17 years ago and the Tories today are uncanny. Then, as now, the Prime Minister was seen as a decent but ineffectual. Then, as now, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a rumbustious character unloved by the "ultras" in his own party. It would be no surprise if Mr Clarke were to be booted off the stage at the Conservative Party conference, just as Mr Healey was by his activists 20 years ago.

Under Mr Callaghan, the economy recovered from the sterling crisis of 1976, but the Labour Party never did. The cheaper pound prompted an export-led pick-up in activity, but investment was weak and the curbs on living standards from incomes policy meant that the public mood remained sour.

For John Major, departure from the ERM was the catalyst for growth, but the cost of bringing down the PSBR has been stagnating real incomes. Investment has remained worryingly weak; crisis management has meant there has been no time or energy to invest in the future with any sort of radical agenda.

Voters can sense when a prevailing orthodoxy has played itself out. Although Britain had both Labour and Conservative administrations between 1964 and 1979 it was hard, in truth, to distinguish between Harold Wilson's brand of big-government and that of Ted Heath.

There was a rhythm to the cycle: a retreat from early high hopes, consolidation, a period of radical reform from In Place of Strife in 1968 to the reorganisation of local government in 1974, then a profound shock followed by inexorable decline. By the Winter of Discontent, collectivism was discredited and Mrs Thatcher plugged into the cultural shifts towards individualism.

If the trade unions were then perceived by floating voters as the symbol of everything that was wrong with

Britain, in 1996 it is sleaze. It is not only that Noli Hamilton has been on the take, but also that he cannot see that his activities fill the public with disgust.

Conservatives do not need to be reminded that the problems for Labour did not end in 1979. Within 18 months of Callaghan's defeat, the party had split, ensuring a generation out of office. A post-election Conservative split into anti-European and pro-European wings looks likely, with Mr Clarke joining the pantheon of great leaders the Conservatives never had.

That is the bad news for the government. The good news is that much of the Thatcher-Major legacy will live on under a Blair administration. There will be only minor changes to trade union legislation, no programme of renationalisation and no attempt to use the tax system to shift resources from rich to poor. Labour has embraced both the market and the middle classes.

Mrs Thatcher's political success was also built on the big increases in real incomes enjoyed by those in work during the 1980s.

Other countries did it differently, ensuring that any gains were evenly spread, but in the UK the decoupling of

and labour have not been addressed. Of the much-vaunted trickle-down effect there has been no sign.

Finally, at the very heart of the Thatcherite project was the notion that free-market economics would signal the end of the welfare state of the 1970s and get the government off the people's backs.

This simply has not happened. Government is everywhere in the quango-ridden Britain of 1996, coping with the cost of free-market failure among those in the underclass ignored by the affluent majority and catering for the victims of laissez-faire economics. The nanny state is alive and well, regulating, policing, monitoring, snooping, controlling.

When Conservatives say they have changed the Zeitgeist it is true in only a limited sense. In effect, they have set up what amounts to a nationwide counselling service to fill the gap where demand management and redistribution used to be. People were once employed to make things; they are now employed to help others cope with not making things.

One speaker at a Labour fringe meeting last week said he was surprised that there were remarkably few debates in Blackpool about economics. He should not have been. Mrs Thatcher's triumph is that neither party now has any real desire to manage capitalism. Her great failure is that she has spawned a giant bureaucracy that manages everything else.

People were once employed to make things; they now help others cope with not making things

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Dirty dancing with business wolves

Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

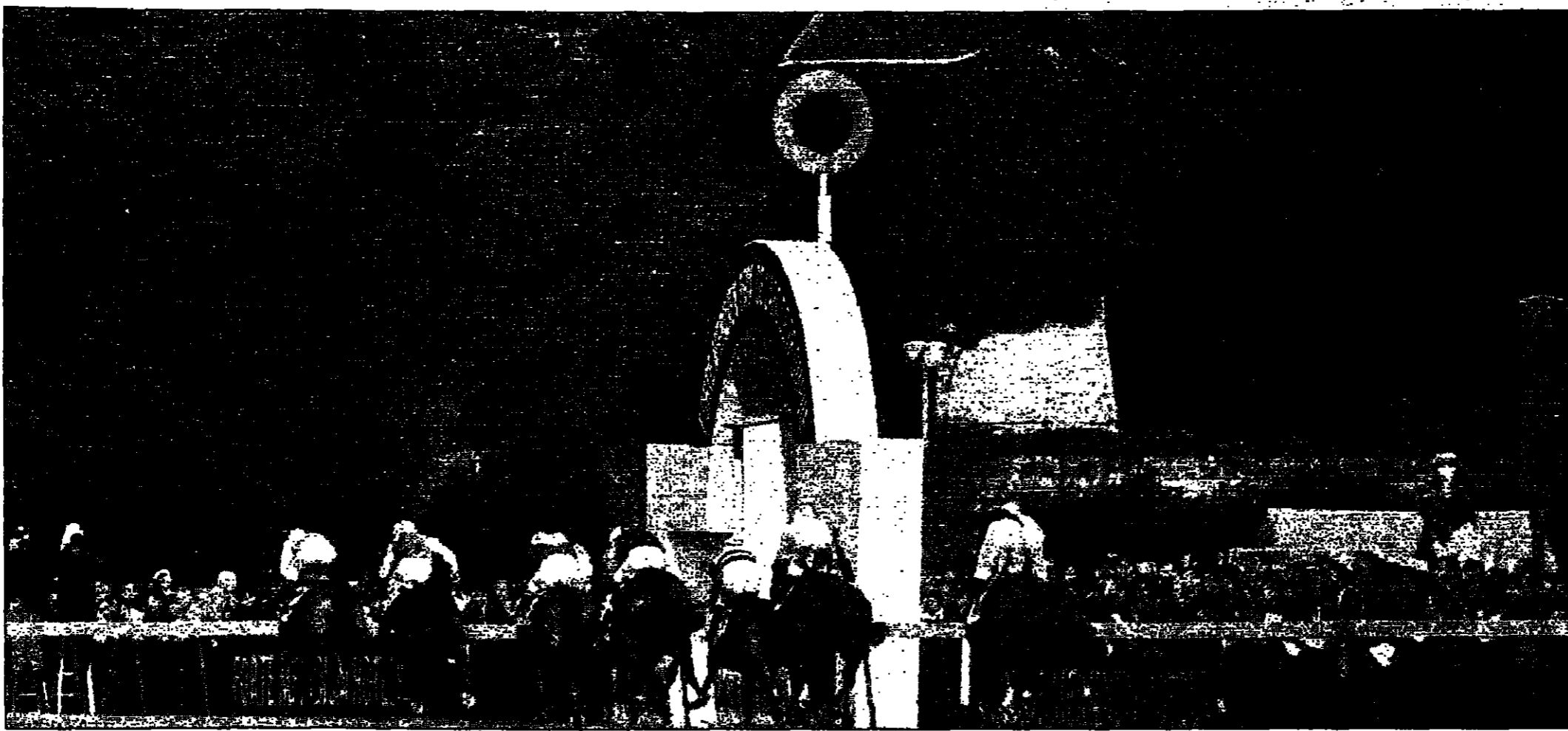
HERE'S a new way to play the lottery, turning those billion-to-one odds to your advantage. Select your lucky (ha, ha) numbers, but don't buy a ticket. Pray like mad your numbers aren't selected (they won't be) and have a £52 treat at the new year.

Tax was pretty awful, but it did shield us from the "local income tax" proposed by that nice Mr Kinnoch. The Lawson Boom did allow us to buy some pretty clothes; Mr Foot's £10 billion-odd "reflation package" would have left us with the same bangover but a wardrobe full of brown leather jackets and "No cuts" T-shirts.

And at least the Tories had the decent cowardice to pull out of the ERM in 1992; brave New Labour would still be in there, with interest rates so high as to break fresh ground in prime-number theory.

stand half a chance of dealing with the bogus, piratical "global market", now accepted as the given order of things. Cliff Richard and his mates on the Labour side haven't a clue. They really believe "world-class companies" (ruthless predators) prefer an educated, motivated workforce to a nice low wage bill.

Emily Sheffield



Frankie's back... Dettori gains a narrow win on Ryafan (far left) in the Prix Marcel Boussac at Longchamp yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENNINGS

Reid rides off into the Sunset after Arc fall

Three cheers for Britain on Arc de Triomphe day as Alhaarth finally comes good. Graham Rock reports from Longchamp

JOHN REID literally picked himself up from the floor to win the Sunset & Vine Prix de l'Opera on Donna Viola at Longchamp yesterday. Having fallen heavily from Polaris Flight in the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe 45 minutes earlier, Reid was stretched off the course, but he declared himself fit on his return to the weighing room and gave Donna Viola a tremendous ride to snatch an unlikely victory in the final strides.

man-trained La Blue would win for Cash Asmussen. But, weaving his way through a tightly-packed field, Reid produced his filly in the final 50 yards to land a dramatic success, and one of the most important in the career of Chris Wall, who trains 82 horses at Newmarket.

"It's a big thrill for a small owner and a small stable," said Wall. "She worked very well last weekend, so I came here with some confidence, although this was a big step up. She was boxed in with nowhere to go up the straight, but it might have suited her."

again this year," added Wall. The victory was a welcome change of luck for Reid, who had been disqualified after winning the Prix de Condé on Morosa the previous afternoon, when he was given a four-day suspension. Frankie Dettori might have finished last on Classic Cliche in the Arc, but he brought a roar of approval from the invading army of British racegoers when driving home Ryafan to beat Yashmak and Pat Eddery in a pulsating finish to the Prix Marcel Boussac, providing Khalid Abdulla with the first home success.

streamlined, Eddery bounding in rhythm to his mount's stride. Yashmak, who led early in the straight, was dislodged by Ryafan, and in the final 50 metres Dettori's mount inched in front to beat her rival by a head, with Family Tradition two and a half lengths back in third.

"Ryafan will be trained for the Guineas," Gosden confirmed. "But she has plenty of stamina in her pedigree and we'll have to consider the Oaks."

beat Shaatzi, his only serious challenger in the closing stages, by a length and a half. The overseas challengers failed in the Prix de l'Abbaye for the first time in 19 years, but the race did not go as expected to the 2-5 favourite, Anabaa.

Glover to the fore in Cambridgeshire again

the fact that Glover, a former jockey, has only saddled five runners in the race. Clifton Fox led the hounds a merry dance here and never looked in danger of defeat after hitting the front a furlong and a half out, running on strongly to beat Missile.

Glover clearly knows what is required to win this contest, but he does not over-estimate, believing the ground might be a shade too fast for Clifton Fox.

not, of course, make Duffield any the worse as a rider and it was just a question of waiting for the right horse. When it comes to Last Second, whose delicate constitution means racing takes a lot out of her. This was only her third run of the season, and her fifth in total.

chucked away the Prix du Cadran after ducking violently to his left on spotting the exit in the rails. Moonax is too clever for his own good, but at least he did not disgrace himself, as he did last year, by trying to make a meal of one of his rivals.

CIGAR, America's star racehorse, suffered a shock defeat when failing to peg back the champion three-year-old Skip Away, who is trained by former FBI agent Sony Hine, in Saturday's Jockey Club Gold Cup at Belmont Park, New York.

Cigar meets match but remains on course for the Breeders' Cup

Breeders' Cup Classic at Woodbine, Toronto, on October 26. Jerry Bailey, Cigar's trainer, said: "I must have ridden Cigar, I started in at the half-mile pole but from a furlong out I couldn't make up any ground on Skip Away. I tip my hat to the winner."

Best on odds-on in the race last season, Wizard King was ridden by George Duffield to a length and a half over the Black Tompkins-trained Col Edge.

Pontefract runners and riders with form guide

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (e.g., 2.15 Tommy Toronto, 2.45 HE'S GOT WINGS (nap), 2.15 CANYON CREEK (nap)).

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (e.g., 3.15 PERFECT PARADISE (11) 11/1, 3.15 CANYON CREEK (nap)).

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Annus makes grade in Japan

Annus makes grade in Japan

CLASSIC Cliche was a bitter disappointment in yesterday's Arc, but Godolphin's run of global success continued in Tokyo on Saturday when Annus Mirabilis captured the 2389,625 Mainichi Okan under Darryll Holland.

The four-year-old, a 92-10 shot, was held up in third behind Toyo Lyphard before going on to land the nine-furlong event by a length and a half.

Annus Mirabilis has been a regular in European pattern races since he finished 12 lengths second to the now-retired Celtic Swing in the Racing Post Trophy at Doncaster two years ago.

Holland, who has been riding on a three-month contract in Japan since August and was gaining his first win from 27 mounts, said: "I had ridden this horse about a year ago but I feel he has matured a great deal since then."

The Grade Two Mainichi Okan was opened to international competition for the first time this year and is the seventh Japanese race in which foreign runners are allowed.

British raiders carried all before them in Italy over the weekend, winning all the four races contested at San Siro, Milan.

Mistle Cat, trained by Sean Woods, led all the way to beat Mark Johnston's Gothenberg by two lengths in the one-mile Premio Vittorio di Capua yesterday.

"He loved the mud," said Mistle Cat's jockey Richard Hughes.

There were listed race wins for Snow Princess and Hello, trained by John Dunlop, but she was not surprised to see Snow Princess, also scored with the newcomer Viacomtesse Brave in a maiden race on Saturday.

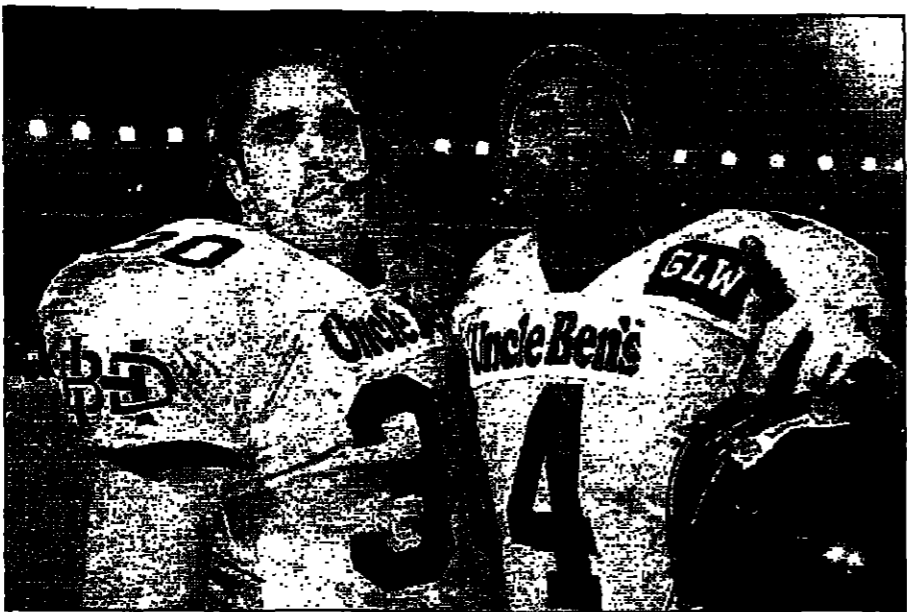
Sir Mark Prescott's Wizard King won for the third time in Ireland in the last year, then justifying favourite status in the Coolmore Stud Home of Champions Concorde Stakes at Tipperary yesterday.

Best on odds-on in the race last season, Wizard King was ridden by George Duffield to a length and a half over the Black Tompkins-trained Col Edge.

Sound Man, sent off at 4-1 on, cruised home by 20 lengths under Richard Dunwoody in the Crown House Stud Chase.

Switzerland's first Sunday jumps meeting was a resounding success yesterday when Kelso pulled in a crowd estimated by officials to be "well in excess of 7,000."

© Rinkered today for the first time: PONTFRAC 2.15 Canadian Fantasy; 3.15 Irish Sea; RAINFALL 4.45 Marjaana; 5.15 State of Caution. PONTWELL 2.50 China Mail.



Winners and losers... Hamburg's Vince Paiko (left) and Xavier Kairey smoke victory cigars after winning the German Bowl, Caroline Pierce misses a putt in the Big Apple Classic, and Michael Chang goes down and out to Jonathan Stark

Weekend results

Soccer

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP

Table with columns for team names and match results (W, D, L, F, A, Pts).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE

First Division

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Rugby Union

INTERNATIONAL MATCHES

Table with columns for match details and results.

DOMESTIC MATCHES

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Rugby League

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DOMESTIC MATCHES

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Darts

WORLD TOUR CHAMPIONSHIP

Table with columns for player names and scores.

EUROPEAN CHAMPIONSHIP

Table with columns for player names and scores.

Equestrianism

WORLD CUP

Table with columns for event names and results.

EUROPEAN CHAMPIONSHIP

Table with columns for event names and results.

Motorcycling

WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP

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EUROPEAN CHAMPIONSHIP

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Advertisement for Seiko Kinetic watches, featuring a watch image and text: 'Goodbye battery', 'Welcome to the future: Seiko Kinetic... the first quartz watch that turns your movement into power...', 'SEIKO KINETIC', 'Seiko Kinetic at: http://www.seiko.com.jp'

Handwritten signature or mark.

Five pages of sport

Rugby Union
Wasps brought
to earth by
Gloucester
rampage

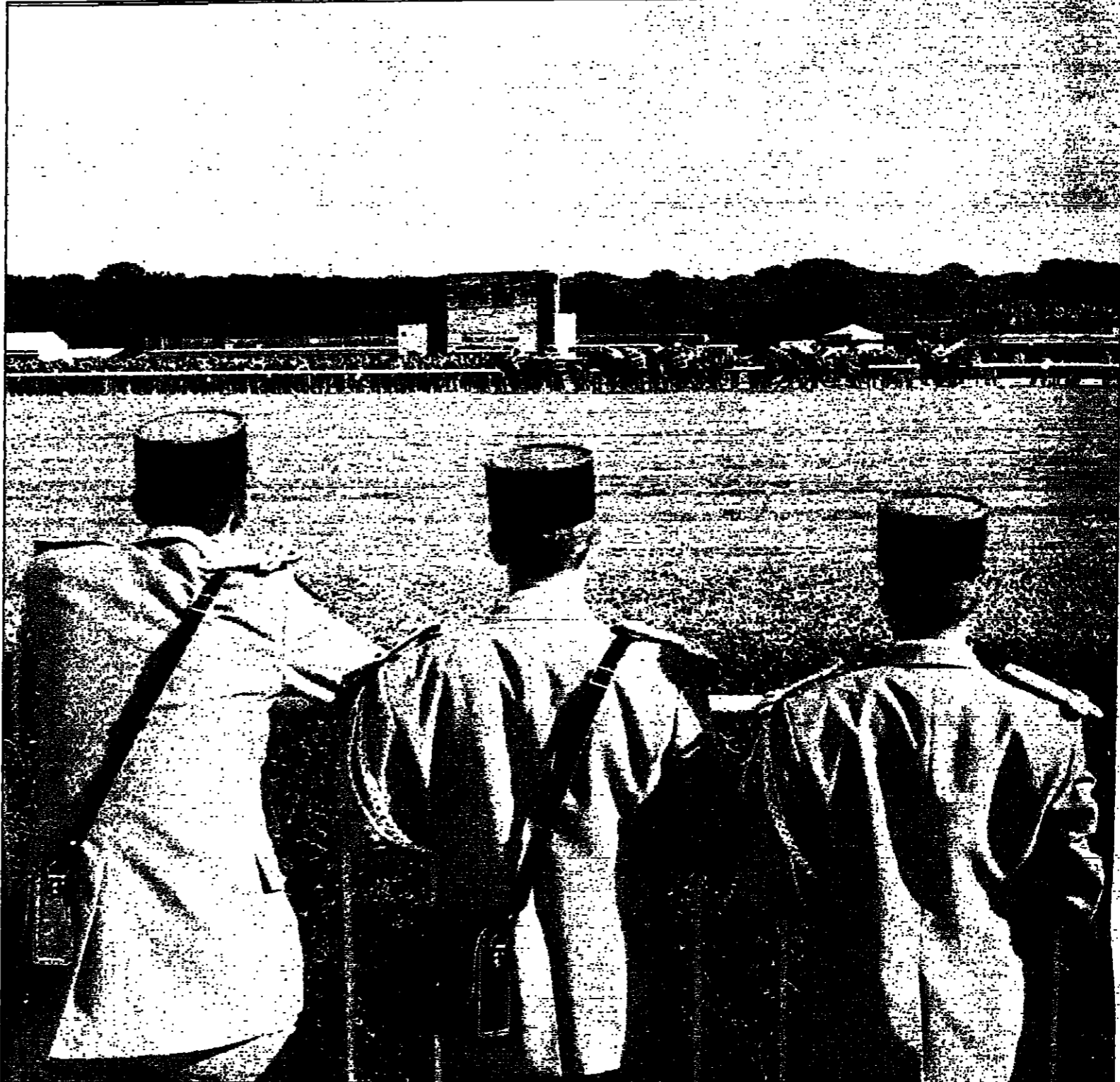
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13

15

SportExtra

THE BIG-RACE PARISIAN CROWD IS TREATED TO AN AWESOME DISPLAY OF HORSE POWER



French triumphant... Olivier Peslier acknowledges the cheers of the Longchamp crowd after his awesome victory on Helissio. Members of the Army Band were among the spectators who witnessed his winning ride PHOTOGRAPHS: TOM JENKINS

Chris Hawkins reports from Longchamp where a colt pulverised Europe's finest horses in the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe

Helissio makes hacks of the best

IT WAS a case of Helissio first, the rest nowhere at Longchamp yesterday as the French-trained three-year-old colt ran out one of the easiest winners of the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe since Sea Bird in 1965.

There are few finer sights in racing than a free-moving front runner switching into overdrive, and that was exactly what Helissio served up to the Parisian crowd when he lengthened his awesome stride to put the race beyond doubt as soon as he swung for home. His emphatic victory earned his connections £527,000 in prize-money alone.

Pilsudski was five lengths away in second place, narrowly holding the late run of Oscar Schindler, but as the runner-up's English trainer Michael Stoute said: "As soon as the winner quickened we had no chance. Helissio is just a machine."

No one was arguing with that summing-up nor with Olivier Peslier, the winning jockey, when he climbed the 1½-mile race in his pocket fully seven furlongs out. "I don't know how you say this in English but in France we say 'ooh la la la la'" said Peslier. "This was the best of the best."

Peslier's English may be somewhat eccentric but the 25-year-old French champion-elect is a natural horseman and, judging by the way he rode this winner, has a

superb "pair of hands". Helissio pulled like a train when beaten for the first and only time, in the French Derby, with Dominic Boeuf in the saddle. But as soon as Peslier got on him he became a different animal altogether.

Peslier can simply drop his hands on the withers and the colt switches off, as he showed here by racing in such a free but totally relaxed manner. As for Helissio, his power comes from a long, strong body which gives him a tremendous presence. Among a good-looking field

'Seldom has a field of top-class horses been made to look so slow as by Helissio in full cry'

Among a good-looking field yesterday he was easily the pick of the paddock.

This was a first Arc win for his trainer, Elie Lellouche, whose beefy stature belies his original career as a jockey, and for his Spanish owner Enrique Sarasola, who paid only 350,000 francs (around £45,000) for Helissio as a yearling.

The Japanese made an offer for him of \$8 million (£5.5 million) before this race but Sarasola turned them down. The men with the yen may dramatically revise their bid soon, as Helissio's next race

could be the Japan Cup in Tokyo.

Lellouche ruled out a trip to Toronto for the Breeders' Cup in three weeks' time, believing that will come too soon, although Helissio hardly seemed to break sweat here.

Sarasola, a businessman who owns Madrid racecourse, never has more than two horses in training in France and, with his luck, hardly needs any more; Verte Amande, his previous Arc runner, finished third in 1992.

Helissio was bred by Chrissy O'Reilly, wife of the Heinz millionaire Tony, but is the only produce of the dam Helice, who was subsequently barren and sold in some disgrace to Saudi Arabia.

If there was an unfortunate horse in the race it was Oscar Schindler, ridden by Cash Asmussen, who was second-last turning into the straight when Peslier said "Allez".

From that position he had no chance but he made up a huge amount of ground in the final two furlongs. The Melbourne Cup, over two miles in early November, must now be a big temptation for Kevin

Prendergast, his trainer.

Oscar Schindler has 8st 13lb in the big Australian race and must be regarded as very well handicapped. Coral immediately offered him at 8-1 for the race, William Hill going a more conservative 6-1.

There were a number of disappointing efforts yesterday, notably from Swain, who ran fourth but some way below his earlier form when he had finished within a length of Helissio at Saint-Cloud.

Pentire was 10th and never threatened to get in a blow, and Zagreb, whose owner Allen Paulson had piloted his own jet across the Atlantic to see the race, faded to finish 13th after being close enough on the home turn. His jockey Mick Kinane said that the Irish Derby winner "blew up" and that he was not hard on the colt once it became clear his chance had gone.

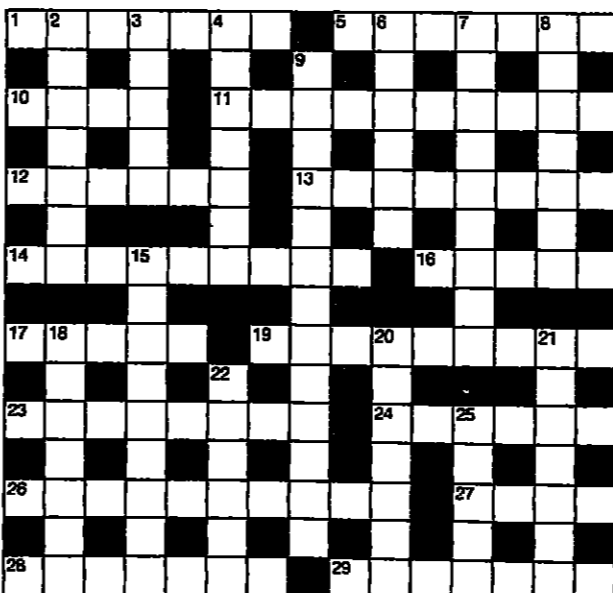
Frankie Dettori came down to earth when finishing last on Classic Clutché, who ran too badly to be true. He finished tailed off and Dettori described his running as "very flat".

The sad aspect of the contest was that Polaris Flight broke his off-fore leg and had to be destroyed. But the abiding memory of the race will be of Helissio in full cry. Seldom has a field of top-class horses been made to look so slow.

More racing, page 12

Guardian Crossword No 20,777

Set by Crispa



WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 20,770
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are Mrs G Speelman of Harrogate, North Yorkshire, Mr A Woodger of London SE4, G N Furnival of Seaford, East Sussex, Mike Breenin of Box Consham, Wiltshire, and K S Kiseack of Oranchar, Isle of Man.

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- 24 Being in rags, the beggar is hardly flashy (5)
- 26 Possibly sets about a creditor, but certainly not the beefiest (10)
- 27 Directions on producing gas (4)
- 28 Perfume that can cause an adverse reaction? (7)
- 29 Well-organised assistant (7)

15 Pop back in place repaired device (9)

16 A flighty creature gets to marry in a foreign port (7)

20 Brighter, but more frivolous (7)

21 Loot might be piled so (7)

22 Various people going down (6)

25 Row involving grazing for cattle (5)

- Across**
- 1 A flower opening wide in the end (7)
 - 3 The dejection of a male is awful to see (7)
 - 10 Some role! (4)
 - 11 Occasional police raid may be ordered (10)
 - 12 Boxes with a key are in short supply (6)

- 13 Barely moved — or moved very fast (8)
- 14 American women's team making a strong attack (8)
- 16 An all-round measure (5)
- 17 Work in Greek island prisons (5)
- 19 Walk, and please get moving! (9)
- 23 Imposing corporal punishment (8)

- Down**
- 2 Hustle the slipshod operator (7)
 - 3 Total issue (5)
 - 4 A note newsmen hold back (7)
 - 6 A plank craftily positioned (6)
 - 7 Adapt to it again and there'll be trouble (9)
 - 8 The oldest way to keep accounts (7)
 - 9 He'll arrange personal cover in quite original fashion (5-8)

Solution tomorrow

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